

CORPVS CHRISTIANORVM

Continuatio Mediaevalis

CXXXIX

PEREGRINATIONES TRES

SAEWULF

IOHANNES WIRZIBURGENSIS

THEODERICUS

TVRNHOLTI

TYPOGRAPHI BREPOLS EDITORES PONTIFICII

MCMXCIV

PEREGRINATIONES TRES

SAEWULF

JOHN OF WÜRZBURG

THEODERICUS

obit EDITED BY
R.B.C. HUYGENS

with a study of the voyages of Saewulf
by

JOHN H. PRYOR

TVRNHOLT

TYPOGRAPHI BREPOLS EDITORES PONTIFICII

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PREFACE

This edition brings together the narratives of three important 12th-century travellers to the newly established Crusader States in the Holy Land, one Anglo-Saxon: Saewulf, and two Germans: John of Würzburg and Theoderic(us). All three narratives clearly convey the tremendous impression that these visits to the scene of Christ's wanderings on earth produced on our pilgrims. Apart from the independent value of their observations (mainly in Jerusalem, much less in Judea and Samaria), Saewulf is interesting for being the first to give a description of the situation in the Holy Land immediately after the capture of Jerusalem. His narrative reflects the often sorry state of affairs which prevailed at the end of the Fatimid period. The two others are, however, no less important witnesses, of a later period, shortly before Saladin's victory changed everything. I have been fortunate enough to secure the collaboration of an outstanding specialist: John H. Pryor, Professor of History at the University of Sydney, who has contributed the pages on Saewulf's voyages to and from Jaffa. His contribution, which is also of great interest for voyages other than just Saewulf's, originally comprised an extensive scientific documentation (cf. his notes 11, 12 and 13). He has, however, permitted me to cut out whatever I considered to be too technical. The past century, and especially the latter half, has witnessed an ever-increasing number of excavations, and discoveries ensuing from them. The three texts are of primary interest for the Crusader period. That is why a supplement to this edition is being prepared by Dr Dan Bahat, a former district archaeologist of Jerusalem and now a lecturer in archaeology at Bar Ilan University. In the meantime, to find one's way in the 12th-century Holy Land we now also have indispensable guides in Dan Bahat's splendid *Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem* (Simon and Schuster, 1990, esp. pp. 90-103), and Denys Pringle's no less splendid work *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. I (Cambridge 1993, two more volumes to follow). Finally, a survey that is both reliable and well-written is Jean Richard's *Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages*, fasc. 38 in the series *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* (Brepols, Turnhout, 1981).

Throughout this volume, the names of the three pilgrims have been abridged to *S* for Saewulf, *JW* and *Th* for John of

Würzburg and Theodericus respectively. Other abbreviations regularly used are:

BHL	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i>
<i>Canon missae</i>	quoted from the edition L. Eizenhöfer ÖSB, 1954
CC(CM)	<i>Corpus Christianorum (Continuatio Mediaevalis)</i>
Fr	<i>Fretellus</i> , see pp. 18ff.
Hesbert, <i>AMS</i>	R.-J. Hesbert ÖSB, <i>Antiphonale missarum sextuplex</i> , Rome 1935/1967
Hesbert, <i>CAO</i>	R.-J. Hesbert ÖSB, <i>Corpus Antiphonalium Officii</i> , vols. 2 and 3, Rome 1965 and 1968
<i>Innominatus VI, VII</i>	see below, note 10
Jerome, <i>Interpr.</i>	<i>Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum</i> , CC 72, pp. 59-161
Linder (A.)	<i>The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem</i> , in <i>Mediaeval Studies</i> 52, 1990, pp. 110-131
MPL	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
Recueil	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux</i>
Thiel, <i>Grundlagen</i>	M. Thiel, <i>Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters</i> , Spoleto 1973

In the critical apparatus, corrections of manuscript readings without any further indication are emendations that have already been made by Rogers (for Saewulf) or by Tobler (and in the case of Th, adopted by Bulst); where *Tobler* is mentioned, I have adopted a correction of his that had not been adopted by Bulst; corrections made by the latter are identified as such by the name *Bulst*, those made by myself by the word *correx*i or similar indications.

The sign = in the notes to the text indicates an identity or close similarity between two or more passages, including the notes to these passages. As a rule, only the first reference gives full documentation.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of a great scholar in Crusader History, who encouraged me to undertake this edition but did not live to see it appear:

MARIE LUISE BULST-THIELE
in respektvoller Erinnerung
gewidmet

SAEWULF

The short narrative of this British pilgrim seems to have been preserved in just one single manuscript: Corpus Christi College (Cambridge) III, a miscellaneous codex on vellum and paper of 454 pages, containing mostly charters copied by hands that range from the 11th to the 16th century⁽¹⁾. More or less lost between all these completely unrelated texts, Saewulf occupies pages 37 (second column) – 46 (second column), written in a fine hand of the late 12th century, under the heading *Incipit certa relatio de situ Ierusalem*. The first edition was published by M.A.P. d'Avezac in Paris in 1838: *Relation des Mongols ou Tartares par le frère Jean du Plan de Carpin... Première édition complète...*, pp. 237-252 ("Note préliminaire") and 253-274 (text), which were both simply reproduced *ad litteram* the next year, also in Paris, in vol. IV of the *Recueil de voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Société de Géographie*, pp. 817-832 and 833-854. The printed Latin text corrects a few errors of the manuscript, but adds to it a considerable number of its own. Another edition, with a translation by 'the Right Revd. The Lord Bishop of Clifton' was published in 1896 in the series of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society: a much better, though still uncritical text by A. Rogers (pp. 31-52)⁽²⁾ with a good introduction and a translation (reprint New York 1971) which has to be used with caution (a few of its errors have been corrected in my notes).

In this third edition the orthography of the manuscript as well as the few proper names written in small capitals have been carefully preserved. The text as such can easily be dated by means of the information the author himself supplies: July 1102 till end September 1103⁽³⁾, after which date the narrative rather abruptly breaks off, without even a word such as *Explicit...* The early date, only three years after the capture of Jerusalem, makes the narrative very interesting (lines 149-169!), and so does the detailed information which is the subject of the pages contributed to this volume by Professor John Pryor. Saewulf's language is simple and direct; that he had problems with the form and declination of a few names, especially Greek ones, is apparent in many passages. His choice of

(1) M.R. James, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, vol. I, 1912, pp. 236-247.

(2) This edition (as well as JW and Th, see below, pp. 10 and 12) was reproduced, with an Italian translation, by Sabino de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana crucisignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, vol. 2, Jerusalem 1980, pp. (1-5 and) 6-31. – I must emphasize that I have more doubts about the quality of the text than have already been expressed in my critical apparatus.

(3) Lines 9-10 and 620, and Pryor, below, note 25.

words is very similar in the first and the last part of the work (lines 1-148 and 551-622) which deal with the perilous voyages to and from the Holy Land.

JOHN OF WÜRZBURG AND THEODERICUS

Editions and translations

a) John of Würzburg

JW's editio princeps appeared in 1721 as part of B. Pez, *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus* I, 3, columns 485-534, the text being a transcription of a Tegernsee manuscript (in the present edition = T) made by dom Roman Krinner (= K). This edition was reproduced by Migne, PL 155, 1055A-1090C. The text is very bad, full of errors and adapted to the supposed taste of its readers. To illustrate to what extent this was done, a few passages may be quoted here. In the present edition, lines 849-851 read as follows: *Sive autem hoc ante vel post factum fuerit, diversitatem loci adhuc hodie descriptio ... innuit:*

Krinner (= MPL 1075A, Tobler (see below) p. 136): *Sive ergo (autem Tobler) hoc ante vel post coenam (coenam om. Tobler) factum sit (fuerit Tobler), parum refert; sed hoc vel scire juvat, quod diversitatem loci... (etc.).*

Line 1145 (the omission of which in my group of manuscripts β constitutes an important *Trennsfehler*) consists of only three words and reads as follows: *Contra quod ego:...* In Krinner's (and Migne's) text this has become: *Sed contra hos merito dictorum vertitur ordo*. A little further, the German pilgrim bewails the predominance of the French, *sic, ut nulla pars civitatis etiam in minima platea esset Alemannis distributa (et assignata Krinner adds)*, and as a result, *ipsis non curantibus nec animum ibidem remanendi habentibus, tacito eorum nomine solis Francis liberatio sanctae urbis ascribitur* (1159-1162). Instead of these words, Krinner fabricated the following text: *atque hinc Germanis animum ibidem remanendi non habentibus nec urbis incolatum affectantibus, tacito Germanorum nomine a partialibus historiographis liberatio sanctae urbis solis ascribitur Francis*. Such words could not remain unnoticed. JW has been the subject of an article by Aryeh Grabois, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte à l'époque des croisades et ses réalités: la relation de pèlerinage de Jean de Wurtzbourg*, in the *Mélanges E.-R. Labande*, Poitiers 1974, pp. 367-376. Describing the passage quoted above as "une variante provenant de l'édition de Krinner, faite sur un manuscrit de Munich", Grabois comments (p. 374, note 54): "Ce défi, lancé contre la partialité des historiens, mérite d'être relevé et étudié dans le cadre de l'historiographie du XII^e siècle." Fortunately, these words passed unnoticed...

In lines 1234-1241 the text of an inscription accompanying an *imago Basilii* is quoted (an *imago beati Basilii episcopi* in Krinner's text):

INTRODUCTION

matris Christi dignitate
 et excelsa potestate
 est repertus Iulianus
 sevus hostis et profanus.
 Nam defunctum hunc prostravit
 sicut mater imperavit.
 Salvatrici sit reginae
 laus et honor sine fine. amen.

Tobler, the second editor of JW, whose edition I shall discuss presently, has the same text (p. 170) but omits *amen* and adds a line which is not found in any of his (or my) manuscripts: *quae elegit hic humari*. In a note on p. 444, Tobler gives no explanation other than saying that Krinner's text is 'more complete' (*vollständiger*) than that of manuscripts T and B. He might have mentioned that his own last line was indeed taken from Krinner's version. In that edition the first four lines (col. 524-525 = MPL 1084BC) are identical to lines 1234-1237 of the present edition, but then the sequence continues:

Transfuga, et perfidus:
 Sed nunc miser luit paenam,
 Deturbatus in gehennam;
 Nam, ut piâ Mater jussit,
 Christi Martyr hunc percussit
 lanceâ Mercurius.
 Salvatrici sit Reginae
 Laus, et honor sine fine,
 Quae, elegit hic humari,
 Hôc thesaurô nobis dari
 poterat quid melius?

These verses must have sprung from Krinner's own poetic imagination: I have been unable to discover any piece in honour of either Saint Basil, Mercurius or even Mauritius (Tobler's guess) which even remotely resembles JW's, Krinner's or Tobler's text, and even Father Van der Straeten S.J., Bollandist, and Professor Josef Szövérfy were unable to help me out.

So much for Krinner's text. As for Tobler's, it is even more adventurous. It was published in 1874 as nr. 5 (pp. 108-192) of his *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII. IX. XII. et XV.* (reproduced, with an Italian translation, by Sabino de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana* [see above, note 2], pp. [225-227 and] 228-293). Tobler divided his text into 27 chapters. In the manuscripts, JW's narrative is structured according to seven stages (*sigilla*) in the earthly existence of Christ, *videlicet natiuitas domini seu incarnatio, baptismus, passio, ad inferos descensio, resurrectio, ascensio, futuri iudicii representatio* (lines 249-251). Tobler did away with what he must have considered to be unnecessary theological nonsense. Indeed, although in the course of my practice as editor of medieval Latin texts I have

come across quite a few curious products, none of them could possibly match Tobler's edition of John of Würzburg. Not happy with the way John had presented his information, Tobler rearranged the text completely, doing away with all the non-essential material, putting together what belonged together and disjoining what did not. As a matter of course the newly aligned passages did not always fit together, and in such cases Tobler simply dropped a few words or added some of his own in order to smooth out any unevenness. Judging from the considerable amount of time it took me to put everything back to where JW himself intended it to be (see Concordance IV), Tobler must have spent many hours on his project. He did realize that not all his readers would be pleased, but thought that in the end gratitude would prevail. Something *did* prevail, though it was not gratitude. As his text became generally preferred to the old one, available in Migne, and people did not bother to read his 'notes' at the end of the volume, some 230 pages after the final words of his Latin text, he got away with his maltreatment of the work, of which only a few scholars were aware⁽⁴⁾:

Ich wagte nun, den praktischen nutzen als etwas wesentliches im auge, eine andere zusammenstellung des stoffes, welche dem leser das verständniß um vieles erleichtern wird. Eine blutige operation wollte ich indessen nicht unternehmen, wozu ich genöthigt gewesen wäre, wenn ich an der hand der logik noch mehr umgewälzt hätte. Nahm sich der verfasser im grunde den lauf des lebens Jesu von der empfängniß an zur richtschnur, so blieb er doch seinem vorhaben nicht immer treu; denn durch die erwähnung der verklärung auf dem berge Tabor (c. 1) wurde offenbar vorgegriffen; auch ist nicht einzusehen, warum das alte compendium mitten hineingeworfen wurde. Wenn ich nun, in beabsichtigung einer bessern ordnung, nach meinem gutfinden den text aus einander und wieder zusammenlegte, so darf immerhin der leser versichert sein, dass ich am texte selbst nur sehr wenig, an gar wenigen stellen nur nothgedrungen abänderte, was ich dann auch in den noten getreulich angab, so dass Krinners Johannes von Würzburg, wenn auch zerlegt, doch in der neuen zusammenstellung leib und bar vorgeführt wird. Sollte, was ich ein wenig besorge, der kritiker mein verfahren missbilligen, so möge er beherzigen, dass ich, ihm zu gefallen, sehr viel mühe mir hätte ersparen können; vor allem aber möchte ich ihn ersuchen, dass er, ehe er ein urtheil darüber und über mehr noch fällt, meine textrezension mit dem drucke vergleiche.

(4) Pp. 421-422. I give the quotation in Tobler's own small Romans instead of the usual capitals.

Needless to say, in the present edition the original order has been reintroduced.

b) Theodericus

The editio princeps was published in 1865, again by Tobler and without any major tampering with the text, under the title *Theoderici libellus de locis sanctis*. It was reproduced, with an Italian translation, by Sabino de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (above, note 2), pp. (311-313 and) 314-385. In spite of many misreadings, due to the difficult handwriting of Tobler's manuscript (= V), it is only fair to say that on the whole he did a remarkable job. A good century later (1976), M.L. and W. Bulst corrected quite a few of Tobler's errors in their edition of *Theodericus, Libellus de locis sanctis* (Editiones Heidelbergenses nr. 18); at the same time, however, they rejected a number of Tobler's corrections which I have reintroduced. Apart from that, they only used photocopies of the (same Vienna) manuscript, and the collation of that manuscript itself has produced a substantial number of such corrections as only painstaking personal inspection can provide. Again a few examples. In the present edition, lines 251-253 read as follows: (*Franci...*) *divinas in ea laudes die ac nocte decentissime celebrant omnibus canonicis horis, semper cursum beate Marie premitentes*:

Tobler, Bulst: *divinas in ea laudes die ac nocte decentissime (delectissime Tobler) celebrant, omnibus (scilicet Tobler) canonicis horis super (Bulst, prope Tobler) cursum virginis Mari(a)e pr(a)emia tenentes*.

973-974: *Pario marmore et ciborio decoratum* this edition, *Pario marmore et ceruleo* (Tobler, adopted by Bulst, who read *celurio* in the manuscript) *decoratum*. In line 1321 both Tobler and Bulst make Th count the quite impossible number of 80 ships in Accon harbour. Actually their (still considerable) number was 30: what my predecessors read as an *L* is no more than a small stroke which the copyist of V quite often uses before Roman numerals. And finally, a rather curious confusion appears in line 1615: *Castrum Inberti* (Casal Imbert, N. of Acre). Tobler, followed by Bulst, read *Castrum Ruberti* (manuscript V, f. 207), a reading Tobler corrected and Bulst maintained, albeit with a note identifying it correctly. Repeated verification shows, however, that V correctly has *Inberti*, whereas M, a manuscript neither Tobler nor Bulst ever saw, has the erroneous reading *Ruberti*!

So much for the previous editions. The existing translations can be dealt with more briefly. Of all three narratives there exist one Italian and two English translations. The Italian one faces the Latin texts reproduced by Sabino de Sandoli, *Itinera*

Hierosolymitana (above, note 2). The English translation by the Bishop of Clifton was already mentioned on page 7 of this introduction; the most commonly used translations of JW and Th are due to A. Stewart in the fascicles of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1890 (JW) and 1891 (Th) (reprints New York 1971). Stewart's translation of Th was reprinted again, with a short new introduction added to the old one, by R.G. Musto, *Theoderich – Guide to the Holy Land*, New York 1986, a nice small volume with a few useful notes. However, although Musto knew the Bulst edition, the translation is still Stewart's rendering of Tobler's text with only a few stylistic changes, and the treatment of Th's origin (see below, note 27) on p. XXII is a veritable potpourri of errors. The narratives of all three pilgrims have recently been translated again by J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, London 1988 (Hakluyt Society, vol. 167), pp. 94-116 (S), 244-273 (JW) and 274-314 (Th). Not one of these translations can really be trusted. For one thing, they are all based on unreliable editions; worse still, the translators often did not understand what they intended to make available to others. I have quoted one single blunder from the Saewulf translation in my note on lines 120-121; but I have given up my original intention of correcting the errors in the other translations because of the great number of misinterpretations. Wilkinson's *Jerusalem Pilgrimage* is a highly misleading book⁽⁵⁾; its translations are also unreliable, although wherever I checked Stewart's worst mistakes he usually compares quite well. As is so often the case, here, "free" rendering often also results in only blurring the meaning of the Latin texts – not just, but especially, where pieces of poetry are concerned. I hope that the present edition will inspire new translations, which are urgently needed: until then, a serious warning against the existing ones is called for.

Manuscripts and constitution of the texts

a) John of Würzburg

Apart from K(rinner), Tobler used three manuscripts (T, B and M: I have kept the same sigla). A. Wendehorst, in his short

(5) Cf. *Deutsches Archiv* 45, 1989, pp. 204-205 (H.E. Mayer). A missed opportunity to enrich our knowledge of the 14th and 15th centuries is the recent study of Josephine Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages. A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism* (Hilversum [Netherlands], 1994), a book which, although based on extensive documentation and nicely illustrated, carries the reader through disappointment to bewilderment.

but valuable notice "Johannes von Würzburg I" in Stammeler-Langosch, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 4 (1983), 822-824, mentions two more manuscripts (A and W), to which I have been unable to add any other. But the manuscript W can be eliminated. It is a 17th-century codex, once belonging to the Jesuit College of Würzburg, now in the University Library of that city (M.ch.q.73) but not yet listed in the modern catalogue⁽⁶⁾. JW has been transcribed on f. 259-272^v (formerly 242-255^v), under the title *Revelatio de partibus transmarinis*. According to a note on f. 259, this part at least was copied from a manuscript belonging to the famous Jesuit Academy of Molsheim near Strassburg, which also contained the Chronicle of Martin of Troppau and the ten *Versus angelici finem sc(h)ismatis venturum declarantes* (= Walther, *Versanfänge* nr. 4348). There can be no doubt that this model of W is identical to our manuscript A, which contains, among other texts, both Martin of Troppau and John of Würzburg, with the same curious title and in the same defective version as W, in which even A's easily recognisable errors were faithfully copied.

A: Manuscript of the British Library, Add. 22349, s. XIV, described in the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1854-1860*, London 1875, p. 637. Its provenance and derivative (W) have already been mentioned. Apart from Martin of Troppau, JW (f. 190-203^v), and, following JW as in W, the *Versus angelici* (f. 203^v), the manuscript also contains the letter *ad fratres de Monte Dei*, the *Formula honeste vite*, the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus and the letter of Prester John on the marvels of the East. The manuscript is closely related to M, as will be shown in the following description.

M: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 8485, s. XV (*Catalogus codd. mss. Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* 4, 1 (1874), pp. 32-33). Although its contents are not altogether identical to those of A, the manuscript also contains, apart from JW (f. 66^v-76^v: no title), the Gospel of Nicodemus and the letter of Prester John. It is listed by C. Selmer as a manuscript of St. Brendan's Voyage in *Scriptorium* 3, 1949, p. 180 (n. 22) and 10, 1956, p. 258.

As transmitted by M, JW's text is as defective as that of A: a glance at the critical apparatus suffices to establish that fact. Apart from the poor quality of the text, both A and M have many omissions of varying length, among them two major ones, viz. lines 428-722 and 1203-1454 (where the text of the other manuscripts ends).

(6) Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae*, 1890 (1963), p. 38, lists a second manuscript in Würzburg, but this must be a mistake.

Another, important, 15th-century manuscript comes from Bologna and is now in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (= B): *lat. oct. 32*, described by V. Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Kön. Bibliothek zu Berlin* 2, 3 (1905), pp. 1011-1013 (nr. 861). JW (f. 1-31) is the first of a series of texts describing pilgrimages, followed by Antoninus, Adamnan and Bede. In spite of its recent date and remote provenance, B is closely related to the oldest, and most important, of all the manuscripts: T.

T: this manuscript, which gets its siglum from the famous Benedictine abbey of Tegernsee in Bavaria (where it comes from⁽⁷⁾), but where it was not written), is nr. 19418 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich: *Catalogus codd. mss. Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* 4, 3 (1878), p. 245. The small volume (c. 12 × 16,5 [8 × 12,5] cm.) counts 83 folios of 16 lines per page and contains only JW⁽⁸⁾, of which it is not only the oldest but also the most complete manuscript. It was used for both the editio princeps (Krinmer) and Tobler's subsequent version, and also forms the basis for the present edition.

All of T's 83 folios have been written in a bold, clear hand to which caution would assign a date "s. XII/XIII", but which I am still inclined to ascribe to the end of the 12th century: either way, the manuscript is dated only a good quarter of a century later than JW's pilgrimage. The text as such is generally satisfactory, although there are corruptions in a number of passages and many minor scribal errors in others. Three hands seem to have interfered by making corrections, changes or additions. Although they are not always easy to distinguish, one of them is the hand of the scribe himself (who as a rule used signs to indicate the exact spot where to insert corrections, a second (*m*²) more or less contemporary hand which used a paler ink, and a third one which intervened somewhat later, at the beginning of the 13th century (*m.al.*). Some of the corrections must have come from T's model itself, because they are supported by other manuscripts and sources (e.g. 115, 375, 405, 1357). A few of the others are worth quoting because they were obviously made by intelligent readers:

65 In Nazareth labitur fons exiguus] *vel eximius*
154 (Jerusalem) quae et Helia ab Helio Adriano qui eam
construxit] *seu potius transmutavit*

(7) Cf. B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen...* I, 21960, p. 153, note 1.

(8) That is, with the exception of 12 lines of *medicinalia pondera* on f. 82v-83, inc. *Collige triticeis medicine pondera granis* (Walther, *Versanfänge* 3027), followed by Walther, *Versanfänge* 17537: *Septem sunt cara quia sunt bona vel quia rara* (both also in B, f. 31-31v), and two more verses in the lower margin of f. 83: *Dat formam nobis confessio sera latronis/ne vel in extremis desperet quisque fidelis*.

1125 ducis felicis memoriae et egregii Gotefridi, illius sanctae expeditionis ***] *principis et magistri*, a designation found nowhere else, but an excellent stop-gap to serve as a replacement of the original epithet, which is lacking in all our manuscripts

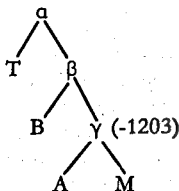
And by far the most interesting of all: 68 Miliare a Nazareth... est locus qui 'Precipitium' dicitur, ex quo iuvenes Iesum precipitare voluerunt, sed ab eis in momento disparuit] *et vulgo dicitur hodie Saltus dei*: this is the earliest mention of this alternative name, which becomes quite frequent in more recent sources, cf. D. Baldi, *Enchiridion locorum sanctorum*, Jerusalem ²1982, p. 785 s.v. Praecipitium.

In a number of cases, but by no means always, the name *Maria* has been written in capitals, and I have retained this; where quotations are provided with a musical notation I have mentioned this in the critical apparatus (*cum neumate*).

Towards the end of the narrative, where the text rests only on manuscripts T and B, there are a few passages where B has a very different wording from the much older T. I consider them as interpolations, but have been reluctant to hide them in the critical apparatus, because, even if not part of JW's original text, they have become part of its reception and reflect another pilgrim's impressions. That is why I have printed in two facing columns the T-text and the B-text of lines 1294-1300, 1303, 1313-1316, 1330-1331, 1376, 1444-1446, 1448 and 1450.

Among the many inscriptions mentioned by both JW and Th, two have also been preserved elsewhere, viz. in the so-called "Innominatus VII" (Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* [see above, p. 10], pp. 100-107 [text] and 409-414). The two inscriptions are JW 291-294 = Th 603-604 and JW 314 (not in Th). The badly corrupted text is found in a 13th-century manuscript in Erlangen, nr. 375 (catalogue vol. 1, 1928, p. 444; the old signature was 515), f. 7-8: *Descriptio situs civitatis sancte Ierusalem*. I have used a photocopy of the complete text. On f. 7 (Tobler p. 102) it reads: *A sinistro latere chori* (etc.: passages quoted in the notes on lines JW 291-294 and 314).

Let us now go back to the whole set of manuscripts of JW and explain their mutual relationship. Graphically this is best illustrated by the following stemma:



What follows may suffice as an explanation of this stemma. The fact that α was not the original is evident from a whole series of corruptions which are found in all the manuscripts and have been registered in the critical apparatus on lines 450, 490, 565, 581, 847, 987-988, 994, 1101-1102, 1125, and many more. β clearly stands out by the opposition to T of all the other manuscripts (viz. B, A and M), the most interesting example of which is the omission of line 1145, which however is well documented in a great many other instances. Within this branch of the manuscript tradition A and M form a group of their own (γ), characterised not only by very many readings and omissions but by the fact that it lacks two whole portions of text, viz. lines 428-722 and 1203-1454 (where the narrative ends).

All this taken into account, the manuscript tradition of JW would seem to be reasonably copious and to produce a solid base for the constitution of the text, the more so because the oldest Munich manuscript (T) is only a quarter of a century younger than the original. But appearances are deceptive: for many passages the manuscript tradition of JW is desperately bad, and I cannot help but to repeat here what I have said above (note 2) concerning the text of Saewulf, that I have more doubts about the quality of the text of both JW and Th than have already been expressed in my critical apparatus. The very first copy of an original may well burden us with a whole series of corruptions, and indeed the text of the archetype (α) was already marred by quite a number of them. T also contains numerous textual errors of its own. On the other side of the stemma, chronology does not change the fact that β must have been a good copy indeed, in which many readings had been preserved that are clearly preferable to those of T. In any case, the much more recent dates of B, A and M, and the certainty that in these manuscripts still more changes to the original text have taken place, should not obscure the fact that, as a group, BAM (β) does not deserve any less confidence than the much older manuscript T: the descendants of β may be young, but β itself may well have been written about the same time as, or even earlier than, T. In order not to overburden the critical apparatus with hundreds of isolated readings from B, A and M, I have only mentioned variants from T, B, AM (= γ), and BAM (= β). As I have already pointed out, of a total of 1454 lines of printed text no fewer than 545 have been dropped *en bloc* from γ , and even in the rest of the text, numerous phrases have been left out, either completely or partially⁽⁹⁾.

(9) In the critical apparatus such omissions are indicated by (-AM). A few times I have adopted readings of AM, mediaeval conjectures, but good ones: see my introduction to William of Tyre, CCCM 63, 1986, pp. 28-29, on this methodological problem.

This means that, roughly speaking, half of the text of JW is based on just T and B, at best on their consensus, or, failing that, on T or B alone. Usually these two manuscripts together provide a perfectly acceptable text which in many cases is even supported by yet another factor in the manuscript tradition, a source called *Fretellus* which I shall discuss presently. Problems arise, however, when T and β disagree or, in case T and B are the only carriers of the text, where one manuscript confronts us with a reading different from the other. Even in such cases, not infrequently the more recent B offers a text which is to be preferred to that of the considerably older T. Still, if such a choice has to be made without any valuable criterion available to base that choice on (e.g. if parallels can be adduced for either reading), then, at my wit's end and for no other reason than chronology, I have accorded an often reluctant preference to the reading of T over that of β or B.

Apart from the manuscripts described in the preceding pages, whose place in the tradition of JW is illustrated by the stemma, there exists an indirect tradition. Existing guides to a number of Holy Places, such as the so-called *Innominatus VI* and *VII*⁽¹⁰⁾, and especially that of *Fretellus*, were important sources of information for both JW and Th. They both used *Fretellus* to describe places they did not visit personally (and even some places they did visit themselves), and especially JW used him *verbatim* to such an extent, that in many cases the consensus of the manuscripts of his work and *Fretellus* (= Fr) determines the text to be adopted in this edition. There is a recent edition of *Fretellus* by P.C. Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte. Histoire et édition du texte* (Amsterdam 1980). In spite of Boeren's great learning as a Church historian, he had been ill-advised to undertake the publication of this particular work: being neither a philologist nor a specialist on the Crusades or on the history and topography of the Crusader States, he was singularly ill-equipped for the task. He did not know JW at all (let alone the manuscripts of his work), used Th only occasionally in his notes, and confused the candidates for the authorship of the work.⁽¹¹⁾ The whole edition is

(10) *Innominatus VI* (part of the complicated manuscript tradition of *Fretellus*, see below), ed. W.A. Neumann, *Oesterreichische Vierteljahrsschrift für kath. Theologie* 7, 1868, pp. 397-438; *Innominatus VII*, ed. Tobler (above, p. 16). The *Innominatus VII* is the "Seventh Guide" in J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage* (above, p. 13), pp. 233-237 and 354. Another source of JW was the mariological treatise *Cogitis me*, from which surprisingly he even took the description of a monument he saw with his own eyes (1229-1232).

(11) Cf. *Deutsches Archiv* 38, 1982, p. 632 (H.E. Mayer); R. Hiestand, "Un centre intellectuel en Syrie du Nord? Notes sur la personnalité d'Aimery d'Antioche, Albert de Tarse et *Rorgo Fretellus*", in *Le Moyen Age* 100, 1994, pp. 7(19)-36.

amateurish – but it is the only one available and as such has proved to be a useful complement to the manuscripts of Th and especially JW. All references to Fr(etellus) are therefore made to the chapters (and lines: numbering supplied by myself) of this edition. Boeren's text is divided into 77 chapters, of which chs. 7-75 have been used by both JW and Th (with the exception of chs. 13-22, the *catalogus mansionum*, 141 printed lines of which only 14 may have been used by JW). Out of 703 remaining lines c. 515, or nearly 75 %, have been adopted by JW: apart from his introductory and closing lines (1-44 and 1440-1454), c. 613 out of 1395 lines, or nearly 45 % of his narrative, have been taken straight from Fretellus, and there can be no doubt that it was Fretellus who was meant by the words: *Scio equidem iam dudum ante tempora moderna haec eadem loca non tantum in civitate prefata (Jerusalem), sed etiam longe extra posita a quodam viro reverendo in scripta redacta fuisse* (27-29). I have noticed a few misreadings (or errors taken over from a faulty manuscript) such as in line 484, where a place *Gerlicus* has been created out of *Ger, locus...*, and 1275-1277: *super quem agrum est mons Geon iunctus, in quo rex Salemon regium diadema suscepit* instead of *...Geon, unctus in quo...*, or, in the description of saint Kariton's death (176-183), the obvious nonsense *prescierant* (179) instead of *petierant* (Fr 48, 5) and *agonizantes* (183) for *agonizantis* (Fr 48, 8). In several cases, information provided by Fretellus has been omitted or supplemented by JW's more recent or personal information, as in lines 71-73, 91-92, 94 (*nuper*), 103, 318-321, 1432-1436, or corrected (763-764: *vel ... quod melius est...*).

If JW's dependence on Fretellus is more often than not literal, the opposite is true of Th. He also used Fretellus extensively, but seldom quoted him word for word. But the two travellers have not always taken over the same information. All in all, 322 out of 703 lines of Fretellus can be found in Th, or c. 46 %; apart from his prologue (1-21) and epilogue (1625-1630), out of the remaining 1603 lines in the present edition only 417 or 26 % can be traced back to Fretellus.

Coming back to the stemma, I want to emphasize that it represents the result of painstaking checks of all the possibilities, and that it is the only one which explains the relationship between all the manuscripts: a common ancestor, which was not the original, from which T, B and AM are derived, and which also explains the consensus of Fr(etellus) with T as opposed to B(AM) and with B(AM) as opposed to T. All this is in no way undermined by the fact that there may be a few cases where a consensus does not represent the model but is purely coincidental, or where the intervention of plain common sense on the part of a scribe, marginalia or interlinear glosses, or the observance or non-observance of expunctions and signs

indicating a change in the order of words may have influenced some readings. There are, however, a few exceptions to be explained, where Fr(etellus) does not agree with T(B) as opposed to AM but with AM as opposed to T(B). To be sure, Boeren's edition leaves quite a number of questions unanswered, but where so many of its readings are identical to those in either T or TB, on the whole, and in spite of its shortcomings, it must represent a fairly current version of the text. Thus, if the consensus of T(Fr) and of TB(Fr) cannot but represent JW's own words as taken from his source Fretellus, what about AM(Fr)? Although cases of such a (theoretically impossible) consensus do exist, forcing the editor to take another hard look at the proposed stemma, I see no reason to replace it with another one, nor indeed any possibility of doing so. If Fr had been a manuscript, one might have spoken of contamination; it is, however, a source, representing a not inconsiderable part of JW's narrative and phrasing, but the situation is quite comparable – albeit on a small scale, because out of ten cases among hundreds and hundreds of variants, only a few are truly significant.

I consider the following readings as being without any stemmatic relevance:

113 *concrematumque* (fuisse perhibetur) TB, *crematumque / et crematum* AM, *crematum* Fr: if JW chose to write *concrematum* instead of the simple verb used by his source⁽¹²⁾, γ may well have dropped the prefix without any change in meaning and without any dependence on Fretellus

160 *unde et* (propheta:) TB, *unde* AM(Fr): both *unde et* and *unde* occur repeatedly in similar phrases

189-190 (cuius tumulo) *superposuit* (Iacob duodecim lapides) AM(Fr), *sub(sup)posuit* TB: correction in γ of an evident error

204 *eo quod* AM(Fr), *eoque* TB: same explanation

208 (quatinus inde) *domino* (deo B) *domum* (construeret) TB, *domum domino* AM(Fr). Cf. 208-209: *aedificavit ... domino templum*. – 216 (totumque quod) *speciosum* (fulgebat in aede) TB, *preciosum* AM(Fr) and the "Innominatus VI" (see above, note 10), p. 434. For these two readings I have no explanation other than the same as given for the first (113) of these readings of AM(Fr): an independent change of wording in γ, coinciding with, but not depending on, that of Fretellus, whose wording JW had changed himself

(12) Cf. 222 *tibi, dilecte mi* instead of *tibi, pie antistes*; 237 *locupletavit* instead of *ditavit* (see below); 495 *attestante* instead of *testante*; 497 *quondam* instead of *olim*; 621 *decoratus* instead of *sublimatus*, etc.

236-237 (aecclesia, quam in honore) *sancti Salvatoris* (construxit) B and M(Fr), (sancti) *Salvatoris nostri* T and A (automatically)

272-273 *supra* pinnaculum templi, quod reputatur *supra* latus circuitus B(Fr), *super ... supra* T and A, *super ... super* M.

In the same lines 236-237 quoted above, another reading needs to be explained: (construxit) et *regie* (TB, *regie om.* AM(Fr)) *bonis amplissimis* sub monachali religione *locupletavit* (TB, *locupletavit* sub monachali religione AM). But Fretellus (54, 6-7) has: *largisque bonis et amplissimis* sub monachali religione *ditavit*. Not without good reason, JW replaced *largis et amplissimis* by *regie amplissimis* (and *ditavit* by *locupletavit*, see note 12), but then, like so many other words, *regie* was dropped from AM (where the text had been changed in other respects as well), leaving the wrong impression that their text is supported by Fretellus.

So now only one passage remains, where I have not adopted the text of TB but that of AM because of its consensus with Fretellus, the source of all these passages:

159-160 (presepe, in quo) *latitavit ipse* (*ipse om.* Fr) *infans Iesus* AM(Fr), *ipse infans Iesus latitavit* T, *ipse latitavit Iesus* B. Apart from inadvertently displacing the verb, T in fact presents the same text as AM and Fr, whereas in B the text has been changed more drastically, though even here, a trace of the original order of the words – *latitavit* preceding the final word *Iesus* – is preserved.

I would like to draw attention to one more passage. Lines 1029-1031 read: *peregrini sub specie latens apparuit duobus discipulis, in via sub conquestu de morte illius* (TB and Fr, *eius* AM) *tendentes* (TB, *tendentibus* AM and Fr) *Eleuteropolim, id est Emaus oppidum*. Here, I have adopted both readings of TB, the first one supported by Fretellus, the other not. To be sure, the correct grammatical form should be *tendentibus*, and it does not do γ great credit to have been able to substitute this reading which is, of course, also that of (Boeren's edition of) Fretellus. However, loose constructions such as *discipulis ... tendentes* are not rare at all, cf. Luke 7, 32 (*Itala*, ed. Jülicher, 1976, p. 79): *similes sunt pueris sedentibus in foro et loquentibus ad invicem, dicentes: Cantavimus vobis...* (etc.), and the passages I have quoted from even an accomplished writer such as William of Tyre on p. 67 of my introduction to CCCM 63, 1986. Thus, although I do appreciate correct Latin, I am in no doubt whatsoever that in this case one should stick to the reading of TB, and give it at least the benefit of the doubt. ⁽¹³⁾

(13) See also Th 1266: *iuxta montana... qui vocantur Sophim* (confusion with

b) Theodericus

Until quite recently, Th was known from only one single manuscript (V), from which he was published twice, first by Tobler, then by Bulst (see above, p. 12). V stands for Vienna, Oesterreichische Staatsbibliothek, nr. 3529 (*Tabulae codd. mss... in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum* 3, 1869, p. 12-13). A few years ago, F. Dolbeau discovered a second manuscript (M)⁽¹⁴⁾. Both manuscripts are German in origin (M also in provenance); as a matter of fact, both are descended from the same ancestor, a model which shows in a number of common errors and corruptions, titles and marginal additions (see the critical apparatus on lines 1, 21, 1078, 1623-1624, etc.). Both manuscripts date from the 15th century, thus leaving a considerable gap in the tradition of this late 12th-century narrative⁽¹⁵⁾. Among a number of completely unrelated texts, the two manuscripts contain a common series of treatises dealing with the Holy Land, such as Haiton's *Flos historiarum*, Sir John Mandeville, *Gesta Godefridi de Boulion/Bulyon*, and, of course, Theodericus (f. 192-207 in V, f. 89-119 in M). Apart from these, M also has William of Boldensele, James of Verona and the less well-known John de Hese (Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae*, 1890/1963, pp. 92-93), whereas V contains

montes, cf. 1262-1263: *ista montana... Hiis montibus...*, see the same introduction to William of Tyre [above, note 9], pp. 66-67).

(14) F. Dolbeau, *Theodericus, De locis sanctis. Un second manuscrit, provenant de Sainte-Barbe de Cologne*, in the *Analecta Bollandiana* 103, 1985, pp. 113-114. The manuscript is mentioned among the unidentified ones by R.B. Marks, *The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St. Barbara in Cologne*, vol. 2 (Salzburg 1974), p. 421, nr. 0042. In 1834 it was acquired by Sir Thomas Phillipps, in whose collection it was catalogued as nr. 6650 (*The Phillipps Manuscripts*, London 1968, p. 99), and in 1953 it was bought by the University of Minnesota (now catalogued as nr. 1424/Co in the James Ford Bell Library). It is described in the *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 1962, p. 300 (the reference *Phill. 6550* given there is a misprint). The manuscript has been used for the first time in the present edition. I have been unable to find any others.

(15) It may be useful to repeat here what I said about another (early 13th-c.) text preserved only in German manuscripts of the 15th century: "Au XV^e siècle..., dans les pays de culture allemande, on constate partout, en relation avec des mouvements comme la Dévotion moderne, une prise de conscience, une recherche très marquée des sources, un renouveau d'intérêt pour l'étude et la copie des "classiques" du grand passé spirituel. Ce renouveau d'intérêt, il n'est guère possible d'en exagérer l'ampleur, tant est élevé le nombre d'ouvrages médiévaux dont le texte ne nous a été conservé que par des manuscrits de cette époque, et qui autrement auraient été irrémédiablement perdus, et je ne parle pas de ceux dont les manuscrits du XV^e siècle forment une partie plus ou moins importante de la tradition..." (*Deux commentaires sur la séquence "Ave, praeclara maris stella"*, in *Cîteaux, Commentarii Cistercienses* 20, 1969, p. 111).

Nigel (Wireker) of Longchamp, Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Guy de Columnis. The writing of M is easy to read; V, on the contrary, is, as I have already mentioned (above, p. 12) a very difficult manuscript to decipher. Now, the satisfaction of being able to use a second, hitherto unused manuscript, and an easier one to read at that, should not induce us to prefer it automatically to the manuscript which served previous editors: although M enables us to improve the text of a number of passages (1205: *incantantibus!*), it also shows a pattern of active intervention, albeit of minor importance, such as adding *et* or *ac* where Th clearly favours asyndetical constructions, and *vero* in antithetical phrases, or adding words to help clarifying the meaning where no such help is needed (e.g. 1388 *pro pretio saltatricis*] *puelle add. M*, 1488 *in hac quoque*] *ecclesia add. M*, 1521 *haurire ... et matri* (*aquam add. M*) *deferre*). A number of problems of textual criticism concerning Th were already discussed on the pages dealing with JW's text, and others will be dealt with hereafter; here, I should like to emphasize that in spite of its careless appearance, I have maintained V as the basis for this edition of Th.

A few aspects of the constitution of the texts of both Th and JW remain to be discussed. The *cursus* has not been useful in determining the choice between two readings, because neither author observed it in any systematic way. If and where applied, however, unintentionally, it has been done in both later manuscripts and in T, and thus cannot be used to determine the correct reading.

Neither JW nor Th are particularly remarkable for the richness of their style (see also below, pp. 30-31). Both aimed primarily at giving a clear and plain description of the Holy Land, putting together what others before them and what they themselves had seen, especially in Jerusalem. The stylistic influence of the Vulgate is considerable. As is to be expected, especially in matter-of-fact descriptions, the same wording recurs repeatedly, so much so that I have used it as an element in weighing one variant against the other. In cases where the choice is between a stereotypical and a divergent expression, the author may well have varied his usual formula which a copyist then restored from memory, but such cases would be hard to identify and are, in my view, not very likely. Many of such repetitions, though by no means all of them⁽¹⁶⁾, are mentioned in the notes, mainly to give an idea of the author's style.

(16) I have not mentioned, for example, the many instances of *...a modernis vocatur, (optimo) musivo opere, or subterraneus specus*.

Another problem is caused by a number of quotations from the Bible. Authors and copyists alike knew them by heart, and may have abridged or expanded at will. A few simple examples of the dilemma this poses may be given here. JW 73-74 *vox Patris audita est, dicens: hic est filius meus dilectus, et caetera* (Matthew 3, 17). Here (as in the two other examples) A and M omit the whole passage, B omits *dicens*, but has *dilectus* which is lacking in T. The whole quotation recurs, in the same context, in lines 447-448, again only in TB, and here *dicens* is again lacking in B, but this time it is B which omits *dilectus*, while it is preserved in T. In line 461, Matthew 4, 9 is quoted: (...*inquiens:*) *haec omnia tibi dabo*] si cadens adoraveris me *add.* B, et caetera *add.* T. Has the quotation been abridged by JW himself? Or by T? Or has the original text been preserved in B, or did this latter manuscript complete the quotation? And again lines 597-599: *unde propheta* (Is. 63, 1): *quis est iste qui venit de Edom*] *tinctis vestibibus de Bosra add.* T and Fretellus (source of this passage), et cetera *add.* B...⁽¹⁷⁾.

As I have said before, mediaeval people knew their Bible. That makes the readings in JW 604 and Th 1553, and in JW 881-882 and 1271-1272 even stranger. The brook on whose bank Jacob struggled with the angel was the Jab(b)oc(h), and one would be inclined to suppose that the episode (Gen. 32, 22-28) was too well known for the name to be corrupted. But JW (604) gives the name of the brook as *fluvius Iacob*, a reading already found in some manuscripts of Fretellus (28, 10) from which source JW must have taken it, whereas Th (1553) speaks of the *torrens Iadach*... Even more curious is the second passage. Judas delivered the Lord up to the Jews for thirty pieces of silver (Matthew 26, 14-16 and 27, 3-9, cf. Zachary 11, 12). What then made JW write *mercedem prodicionis triginta aureorum* (881-882), and again *aureos accepit pro traditione domini nostri* (1271-1272)? The text of both passages rests only on TB, but these manuscripts originally had the same puzzling readings. These were bound to be corrected: the main hand of T already changed the pieces of gold back into silver, but they survive untouched in B – and so they do in the present edition.

Twice the two manuscripts of Th give a wrong geographical indication, first in lines 1212-1213, where Gaza is located north of Hebron (*versus septentrionem supra Mare Magnum*), and again in lines 1578-1579, where Beirut is said to be west (*ad occidentem ... in littore maris*) of Byblos and other coastal towns now in Lebanon, Syria and Turkey. In both cases Tobler corrected the text: *versus occidentem* in line 1212 and *ad meridiem* in line 1578. I find it hard to believe Th could have made such gross

(17) See also the note on JW 1027-1028.

mistakes, even if writing from memory; but on the other hand, I find it even harder to explain the words under discussion as just scribal errors. So I left both passages unchanged, limiting myself to warning the reader.

In some cases, variant readings directly influence our information about an author or the monuments he describes. In JW 1356, I print *missa celebratur* (B), a formula that recurs elsewhere; but T has *missam celebravi*! Th has a passion for crypts and the number of steps leading to them. Admittedly, a few more or less do not really matter, but it is annoying not to be able to check the numbers in lines 634 (45 V, 15 M) and 1040 (16 V, 12, 17, or just 7 M)⁽¹⁸⁾. And then there are the numerous inscriptions for whose text we rely solely on JW, Th, or both. Did the inscription mentioned in lines JW 395-396 and Th 552 read *in domo domini* (Th) or *in domo tua, domine* (JW) (*omnes dicent gloriam*)? The text is based on Ps. 28, 9: *in templo eius omnes dicent gloriam*. Both travellers saw the same inscription, there are no variants, and still we are left with a question mark. Another inscription is quoted no fewer than three times, once from the church of the Dormitio (JW 1196-1197), once from the tomb of the Virgin in the Valley of Jehoshaphat by both JW (1258) and Th (856-857). The text is the antiphone for the feast of the Assumption (15 August: Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 214, nr. 2762): *Exaltata es, sancta dei genitrix, super choros angelorum ad caelestia regna*. But another version of the line reads: *Exaltata est sancta dei genitrix*, etc., and both versions are found in the manuscripts of JW and Th. The text of the inscription in the church of the Dormitio (JW 1196) reads *est* according to our two best manuscripts (TB), but *es* according to AM; as for the text in the tomb of the Virgin, we do not even have a reading in AM: Th 856 has *es* in both manuscripts VM, JW 1258 has *est* in TB. Apart from that, the antiphone is quoted in different degrees of completeness: in full in Th 856-857, but only *exaltata ... genitrix* in JW 1258, and *exaltata ... angelorum* in JW 1196-1197 (this inscription, in the church of the Dormitio, is not mentioned by Th). There are, thus, several possibilities: JW and Th may have seen the same inscriptions but Th mentions only one of them, or else he missed the one he fails to mention; JW copied them both but did not care to do so in full: knowing the antiphone by heart, and knowing that his readers would as well, he may have felt free only to indicate its presence on the walls. But it may also have been the copyists who intervened, and for exactly the same reason (I do not envisage the possi-

(18) Cf. JW 442: 29 (years) T, 28 B. See also JW 887 (*quinque foramina*) = Th 894 (*sex*), and below (pp. 26-27) on Th 1440-1443 and 590-595 (and above, p. 12, on line Th 1321).

INTRODUCTION

bility that the inscriptions themselves had been changed between the visits of JW and Th – the gilding (Th 182 and 191 of a previously silver (JW 1084 and 1058) lettering is a different matter). I therefore have no option but to follow TB (*est*) for the text of the inscription in the church of the Dormitio; for the one in the tomb of the Virgin, I cannot but adopt the shorter text, also with the reading *est*, in JW 1258, and the full text, with the reading *es*, in Th 856-857.

So much for numbers and inscriptions which cannot be verified. In Th, however, there are two passages which can be, and where I have corrected the numbers as given by the manuscripts, according to what we *do* know, or can reconstruct, to be correct. The first one is relatively simple. In lines 1440-1443 Th says: *Hec [civitas, i.e. Banyas] a modernis Belina appellatur, quam anno incarnationis domini nostri Iesu Christi [...] pagani Christianis eripientes sua in ea presidia locaverunt* – a fact the author rightly considered to be sufficiently disastrous to mark in such a solemn way the year it took place. Both manuscripts V and M give the date as 1171: (*anno...*) *millesimo centesimo LXXI^o V, LXX^o primo M*. The exact date, however, well known from other sources (e.g. William of Tyre 19, 10) and, of course, in the Crusader Kingdom itself, is 1164, and this is the date I have put back into the Latin text. Now, changing 71 to 64 may look like a rather brutal intervention, but in fact, from a paleographic point of view, it is insignificant: thus, leaving the initial *LX* and the final *I^o* intact, I have ventured to correct the intermediate *X* to *III*. – The second passage in Th where I have changed the numbers as given by both V and M is in lines 590-595. In the description of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, we read (587-589): *In introitu proinde chori altare in honore beati Nycolai habetur ferreo pariete inclusum, superius limbum habente et hanc scripturam continente, in fronte: (590-591) 'anno millesimo centesimo primo, indictione III^{ta}, epacta XI^a*

in sinistro latere:

(593) *ab Antiochia capta anni LXIIII, Iherusalem LXIII*

in dextro latere:

(595) *Tripolis LXII, Beritus LXI, Ascalonia XI anni*

It is not clear what these three inscriptions mean. They may well give the dates of restorations. As they stood on the enclosure of an altar, they cannot have been too high up and thus must have been well visible, which makes it improbable that Th misread them so badly as the manuscripts would suggest he did. Indeed, one also has to surmise that their contents were correct: put there to date something, errors have to be blamed on the transmission of the text rather than on the local authority who had the inscriptions put there in the first place. Now, in line 590, the date of 1101, at the very

beginning of the Crusaders' work in and on the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the first year of the reign of King Baldwin I, does not correspond to the 4th but to the 9th indiction, and not to the 11th epact but to the 18th: *VIII^a* instead of *IIII^a* and *XVIII^a* instead of *XI^a*. Line 593 gives the date of 1162, the last year of King Baldwin III: 64 years after the capture of Antioch, 63 after that of Jerusalem. Line 595 was written during the reign of King Amalric: 62 years after the capture of Tripoli and 61 after that of Beirut⁽¹⁹⁾ makes 1171, and so the number of years since the capture of Ascalon (1153)⁽²⁰⁾ should be emended from *XI* which gives the – in this context – meaningless year 1164 to *XVIII*: the number eleven must have plagued the scribe of the archetype to whom I attribute the errors: *epacta XI* (591), *Beritus (L)XI* and *Ascalonia XI* (595). The oldest date has thus been on the front border, the later one on the left side of the entrance and the most recent one on the right side. The way these dates were formulated also differ: *anno...* (590), *ab...* (593), *Tripolis* (nominative)... (595). As might be expected, the inscription over the entrance was the longest and most elaborate, and the two shorter ones (the way I have emended them) must have been of the same length: 41 characters in line 593 (40 if the actual spelling was not *Iherusalem* but *Ierusalem*)⁽²¹⁾, and 40 in line 595.

c) The authors and the dates of their journeys

No exact dates are provided by JW. Tobler (pp. 416-417) opted for c. 1160-1170, a date adopted by Manitius (III, p. 620). It is only certain that the journey took place after 1148 (siege of Damascus: lines 1380-1381), and after 1149, because he saw and described the newly enlarged church of the Holy Sepulchre, and knew the day of its dedication (15 July: *Appendix liturgica* 1). Although in line 1356 I have adopted the reading *missa celebratur* instead of *missam celebravi* (see the critical apparatus, and above, p. 25), the passage as a whole makes it clear that on the 1st of August JW was in Jerusalem. So it is likely that he spent at least part of July and (part of) August in the Holy City. He certainly visited the East at an earlier date than Th, whose stay is somewhat easier to date, as has already been established by both Tobler and Bulst. During Th's visit King

(19) Note the succession of 64, 63, 62 and 61 years!

(20) The reason for mentioning Ascalon and not Tyre (captured in July 1124), for example, may well have been that Ascalon was the last coastal town to fall into Frankish' hands.

(21) See below, note 31.

INTRODUCTION

Amalric, who died 11 July 1174, was still alive (lines 376-377), and the city of Banyas had fallen to Nur ed-Din (October 1164: date discussed above, page 26) (lines 1440-1443). Around Jericho Th saw ripe barley, and to underline the fertility of the oasis he stressed the day of his visit there: *in secunda Palmarum feria* (1012-1013). Now, this is very early in the year, even there, because the barley can only have been sown after the rainy season (the Wadi Qelt still seems to have held water: lines 1006-1007 and 1054-1056). This points to a late Easter, leaving a choice between 1172, when Easter fell on April 16th, and 1169 (April 20th). The church built at Jacob's Well near Samaria is mentioned by Th as finished (*exstructa*: 1360), and by JW as still under construction (*ubi nunc aecclesia constituitur*: 134) ... but JW may never have seen the church himself, because he took the mention from his source for the passage: Fretellus (43, 13-14): *ubi nunc... ecclesia construitur* = *Innominatus VI*, p. 430, 9). The Templar church within the precincts of the Haram, which JW (1371) mentions as *nondum... consummatae*, still had not been finished when Th stayed in Jerusalem: *novam... condunt ecclesiam* (706-707): this does not provide us with an accurate date, but it suggests that the interval between the two journeys was not very long, and inclines me to date JW rather nearer to Tobler's suggestion of c. 1160⁽²²⁾ than to c. 1170, and Th's Palm Monday in 1169, rather than later⁽²³⁾. As pointed out above (p. 26), JW twice mentions the lettering of an inscription in silver, whereas in Th they are gilded, so they must have been gilded in the meantime (JW 1058 = Th 191 and JW 1084 = Th 182. Both JW (873-874) and Th (886-887) mention the church of the Saviour in the garden of Gethsemani, but Th adds that somewhat higher up a second church was under construction (*nova nunc edificatur ecclesia*: 895-897).

Neither JW nor Th mention the duration of their visit, but Th at least gives a few indications of the last weeks of his stay. On Palm Sunday he was in Jerusalem (125), the next day in Jericho (1012-1013); five days later, on the Saturday before

(22) Graboïs (*l.c.*, p. 9) may well be right when he dates JW's pilgrimage towards 1165: "Le pèlerinage fut effectué après les campagnes d'Amaury 1^{er} en Égypte [cf. lines 1164-1167] et avant l'avènement de Saladin, qui mit un terme à la tranquillité qui régnait dans la Transjordanie méridionale [= 563-566]. Il semble aussi que les travaux des artistes byzantins n'aient pas encore été achevés dans la basilique de la Nativité à Bethléem, dont il ne fait pas la description dans sa relation [= 183-187]. D'où la possibilité de dater le pèlerinage vers 1165" (p. 369, note 13).

(23) See also above, p. 26, the discussion of Th 1440-1443. While describing his stay in the oasis of Jericho, Th mentions the pilgrims, *now* staying in Jerusalem, *qui videlicet nuper applicuerant* (1068-1070): "who had just arrived" (on the *passagium vernalis*; certainly not "who had recently visited this place": Stewart, p. 48).

Easter, he was back in Jerusalem and present at the ceremony of the Easter fire (289-292 and 309-310); four days later, the Wednesday after Easter, he was (back) in Acre, where he boarded the same ship on which he had arrived (1320-1323). For someone coming on the *passagium hiemale* and leaving a few days after Easter the journey must have been a busy one, during which each day counted.

Little can be inferred about either author from their work. John was a cleric of the church of Würzburg (1), and a remarkably fervent, and anti-French, patriot⁽²⁴⁾, a striking antipole of Guibert of Nogent, whose no less nationalistically coloured, though not anti-German, views represent the other side of the picture. Trithemius (see below) does not mention him; neither does Matthias Flacius Illyricus⁽²⁵⁾. JW dedicated his work to his *dilecto... socio et domestico Dietrico* (2, see also 222, note). Now Dietrich (Theodericus, Thierry) is a common enough name. Tobler originally thought he might have been the later bishop of Würzburg Dietrich von Hohenburg (1223/1224 - early 1225)⁽²⁶⁾, who in that case must have acceded to this office quite late in life: not impossible, but impossible to ascertain. He may also have been 'our own' Theodericus, the third of the pilgrims edited in this volume, an identification that has been both suggested and rejected time and again. Bulst summarily dismissed the identity as 'unglaublich', and I myself have no arguments to defend it either. Had Th truly been JW's friend Dietrich, then he did not return the compliment by so much as mentioning John's name. No trace of him is found before Tobler discovered him in the Vienna manuscript. Both the origin and the provenance of manuscripts V and M and Th's own mention of (a companion from) Cologne (125-126) and of the church of Aachen (221), however, point to Western Germany.⁽²⁷⁾

(24) See lines 1123-1167 and 1336-1338. The mention of a slab of stone near Tyre on which Christ was said to have rested but which had been broken *a Francis et Veneticis* (574-577) tallies perfectly with his anti-French sentiment... even though it has been taken from Fretellus (25, 11).

(25) *Ecclesiastica Historia - Duodecima centuria*, Basel 1569.

(26) Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* 4, 1958, p. 959.

(27) Sabino de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (above, note 2), p. 311, made Th a monk of Hirsau: "anzi il Tritemio (*sic*) lo chiama *monachus hirsaugiensis, vir doctus et eloquens, scripsit de locis Terrae Sanctae librum I*", a reference for which he credits "Thritemius (*sic*), *De viris illustribus* O.S.B., l. 2, c. 16" (p. 386). Now, apart from the fact that nothing in Th points to that (South-Western) part of Germany, it would have been surprising if Trithemius had indeed considered Th important enough to mention him among the only 143 outstanding Benedictine authors he lists in this particular work. But Sandoli's information is a kind of *Emser Dépêche*. In ch. 86 (not 16) of book II of *De viris illustribus* OSB (p. 48: I

As I have mentioned, both authors borrowed from existing writings to describe places they visited, or did not visit but deemed worth mentioning. Both write in clear, plain prose, both show they knew how to construct elaborate phrases, fitting the loftiness of the places they visited, and especially Th frequently aimed at giving them an artful flavour, e.g. by applying assonance or rhyme⁽²⁸⁾. Neither believed everything he was told⁽²⁹⁾, and notably Th frequently uses verbs such as *fertur*, *perhibetur* and the like, and differentiates between serious people like himself and the *simplices homines* (827) or *simplices peregrini* (1121-1122) who must have formed the bulk of visitors to the Holy Land. He also emphasizes his search for certainty: *michi plurimum scrutanti* (132-133), *michi est in ambiguo* (742-747), makes calculations of his own (691-692, 1064-1065), and has a sharp eye for the precarious security situation (104-105, and

have used Joh. Busaeus' edition (Mainz 1605) of *Ioannis Trithemii... abbas eruditissimi opera pia et spiritualia quotquot vel olim typis expressa vel MSS reperiri potuerunt*; see Klaus Arnold, *Jobannes Trithemius (1462-1516)*, Würzburg 1971 (1991), pp. 136-137 and 232). Trithemius says about Theodericus of Fleury (Dietrich von Amorbach: Manitius II, pp. 449-455): "Theodericus monachus Hersfeldensis [!], natione Teutonicus, vir doctus, et eloquens, ingenio subtilis, lectione divinarum scripturarum dives, scripsit ad Richardum Abbatem Fuldensem, de vita et laudibus S. Benedicti librum unum: de translatione eiusdem in Floriacum librum unum, de locis terrae sanctae librum unum. Et alia plura, quae videre non merui. Claruit anno Domini millesimo tricesimo." It remains unclear what led Trithemius to attribute to this particular Theodericus a work *de locis terrae sanctae*. In his somewhat later, and probably best known, work *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (I used the Cologne edition of 1546, p. 143), he rewrote the chapter and dropped the work on the Holy Land altogether: "Theodericus monachus ordinis S. Benedicti, natione Teutonicus, vir in divinis scripturis eruditus, et in secularibus literis nobiliter doctus, ingenio subtilis, et clarus eloquio: fertur non spernendae lectionis quaedam opuscula scripsisse, de quibus ad meam notitiam pauca pervenerunt. Legi tantum ad Richardum abbatem Fuldensem, De vita sancti Benedicti li.I Cum coelestium sacramen[torum] = BHL 1122], De translatione corporis eiusdem li.I Cum diu gens Langob[ardorum] = BHL 1117], Epistolarum ad diversos li.I. Alia quoque tam metro quam prosa plura composuit, quae ad nos non venerunt. Claruit sub Henrico rege tertio, Anno domini 1040." - The insertion of <Herbipolensis> after *Theodericus* on p. 4 of the 1976 edition is an error which cannot be accounted for and which puzzled even the editors.

(28) Cf. the prologue, lines 14-19; 46-48, 373-376, 680-684, etc. He was also partial to words ending on *-osus* (apart from words like 1435 *leprosum*), such as *montuosa* (49), *saxosus* (55), *operosa* (98), *lapidosus* (942-943), *tenebrosa* (980), *gloriosa* (999), *flexuosus* (1018), *laboriosa* (1033), *populosa* (1308-1309, 1580), *periculosum* (1310), *spaciosam ac speciosam* (1342), *naufragoso* (1621, and note), and he may well have coined *colliculosa* (69), *gemituose* (869, note) and *rapidosus* (1018) himself.

(29) Cf. JW's critical remarks in lines 297-298, 800-815, 889-890 (= 1216-1217). Although he uses Fretellus to describe even what he must have seen with his own eyes, he frequently takes care to emphasize that he was personally present at the site he mentions (see the note on line 61).

note) and the ensuing need of strong fortification (87-88, note). In marked contrast to JW, Th shows no anti-French bias (250). Both travellers are first-class sources when they report their personal observations, and more than justify the attention they have always been given; although from the editor's (technical) point of view JW's text is the most interesting of the three edited in the present volume, the reader is likely to find more factual information in Theodericus.

Orthography and other technical aspects of this edition

The orthography of mediaeval Latin texts is every editor's source of anxiety. In case of Saewulf we have only one, early, manuscript, of which I have adopted the spelling. All manuscripts of JW but one are late, but T is nearly contemporary with the author and has largely preserved an early 12th-century orthography. Th has only come down to us in late manuscripts. In the Munich manuscript T the spelling *ae* is still common; in all later manuscripts it has, of course, been replaced by the simple *e*. Although JW and Th wrote at approximately the same time, this does not necessarily mean that Th himself still used *ae* where his manuscripts have *e*: the difference in orthography may well be due to the long interval between the original and the manuscripts we depend on, but it may equally well go back to the writing habits of the author himself. One thing may be taken for granted: neither author's autograph can have been consistent in its orthography. Even when mentioning the same place or quoting from the same source, JW and Th may have spelled names and words differently. In case of JW, I have generally and consistently adopted the orthography of manuscript T, even though this means that the same words occur in more than one form; in case of Th, the orthography is mainly that of manuscript V. Even so, T is often supported by B, and V by M⁽³⁰⁾. Some words seem to have always been written identically by both authors: *cisterna*, *columpna*, *cripta*, *ymnus*, but *absis* VM, *absida* TB, *Armeni* TB but *Armenii* VM, *dyabolus* VM but *diabolus* TB, *ycona* VM but *yconia* TB, *ymago* VM but *imago* TB, *dyadema* VM but *diadema* TB, *martyr* TB

(30) I have adopted from M (in V the word has been contracted) the form *imperpetuum* (lines 4-5): well known to diplomatists, this form rarely occurs in (printed) literary texts. – Apart from this, I draw the reader's attention to P. Tombeur's note 2 on p. 6 of the *Instrumenta lexicologica latina*, fasc. 77, 1993, an introduction to the vocabulary of my edition of Guibert of Nogent (CCCM 127), about the forms *erogione* and *ediverso*. In the manuscripts used for the present edition, I only found *e regione*.

but *martir* VM, *pyramis* TB but *piramis* VM, *hortus* TB but *ortus* VM, *opidum* VM but mostly *oppidum* TB, etc. Generally speaking, manuscript M has a tendency to write *y* where V has an *i*. – *Exstare*, *exstruere* is not rare alongside *ext-*, *reperire* and *repperire*, *rep(p)ererunt* and *rep(p)erierunt* are found, as are *in(pre)cidere* and *in(pre)scidere*. In Th *aquilonaris* is found once (74), otherwise it is always *aquilonalis*.

Where numbers are concerned, I have, of course, printed them either as Roman numerals or in full according to the way they were written in T(TB) or V(VM), and in full in all cases like XXX^{ia} (= *triginta*).

The main orthographical problem, however, is with proper names, many of which may have been familiar to the copyists, but many most certainly were not. "Jerusalem" is spelled *pell-mell*, and in all manuscripts, as *Ierusalem*, *Iherusalem*, *Hierusalem*, *Ierosolima(e)* or *Iherosolima(e)* ⁽³¹⁾. Apart from *Sychem* (biblical Sichem), T repeatedly has *Sychen*, what I take to be a misinterpretation of *Sychē*, and have eliminated. Some differences in spelling are not just orthographical (e.g. JW 532 and Th 1191 *Adama*, *Adamia*, *Adima*, or Th 1496 *Baruch*, *Barach*). Where names were abridged or contracted, I have followed the spelling of the same words as written in full. Some names may not only have been spelled in more than one way by the authors themselves, but taken from manuscripts of different sources, of which it is impossible to check the orthography. In a few cases, I have mentioned various spellings in the critical apparatus, especially where "modern" Frankish names are concerned, but as a rule I have not.

Capital initials present another problem ⁽³²⁾. Names of ethnic or other groups have been written with a capital, but not their language (*Greci*, *Latini*, *Hebrei*, *Sarraceni* - *grece*, *latine*, *hebraice*, *sarrachenice*). Titles of churches have been written with a capital: *(a)ecclesia Sancti Iohannis*, *Dominici Sepulchri* (but *sanctus Iohannes*, *dominicum sepulchrum*); *Templum Domini* and *templum domini*. Geographical names such as seas, mountains, valleys, or gates and towers, have been written with and without a capital, depending on whether the names formed a fixed unit or not: *Porta (Turris) David*, *Porta Aurea* but *porta orientalis*; *Mare Mediterraneum*, *Mare Mortuum*, *Mare Galileae*, *Lacus Asp(h)altidis*, *Lacus Genesareth*; *Vallis Iosaphat*; *Mons*

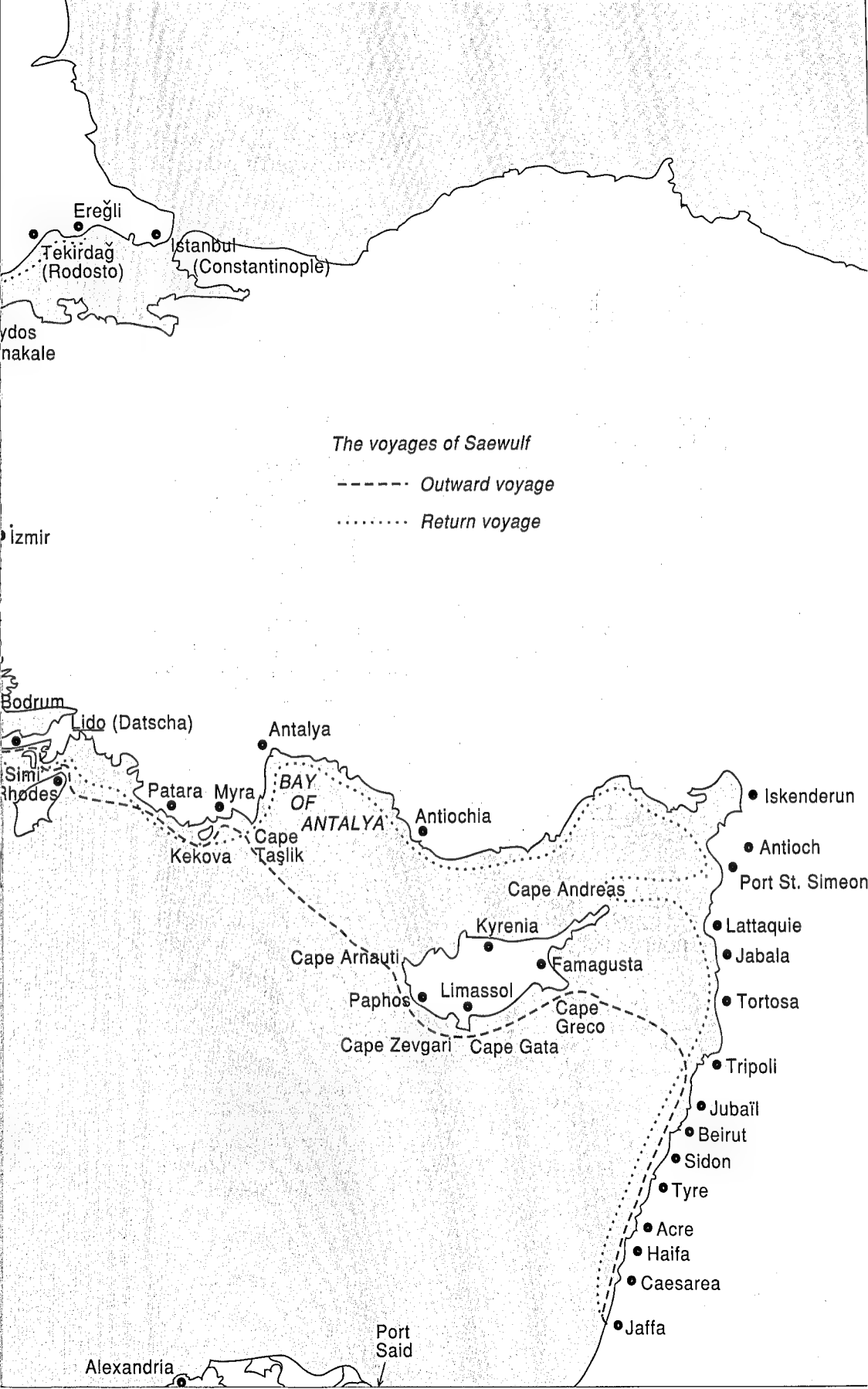
(31) Twice (JW 407 and Th 593) the name of the city is mentioned in inscriptions. Both manuscripts of Th have *Iberusalem* but the actual reading may well have been *Ierusalem* (above, p. 27); for JW, manuscript T has in this instance *Iberusalem*, group β (= BAM) *Ierusalem*.

(32) See my edition of *Monumenta Vitzeliacensia. Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Vézelay*, CCCM 42, 1976, p. XL.

Oliveti, *Mons Syon* but *mons Thabor*, *mons Libani*, *mons Moria*, *montes Gelboe*; *Ortus Abrahe* and *Fons Iacob* but *torrens Cedron*, etc. I am under no illusion that every reader would always have resolved this problem the way I did, but such is the privilege readers enjoy over the editor: the latter has to decide how to present the text, the former only has to (dis)agree.

Both JW and Th insert a whole series of inscriptions in their narrative; in addition to these, JW's manuscripts TB also have an appendix which contains both already quoted and additional inscriptions (Concordance I). Many of these are antiphones, others are the fruit of local poetic inspiration, of the poor quality so characteristic of such products in the Holy Land. Those inserted in the text have been made to stand out in small capitals. Although the originals will hardly have shown punctuation marks except maybe periods and colons, I have added a few more in order to facilitate understanding. Apart from this *appendix inscriptionum*, only the manuscript T also has an appendix of liturgical texts, taken from the Offices of the dedication of the (new) Church of the Holy Sepulchre (15 July), the Transfiguration (6 August) and the Presentation of the Virgin (21 November). How these two appendices came to be transmitted as separate entities after JW's text, and only in TB and T respectively, is a question I am unable to answer.





The voyages of Saewulf

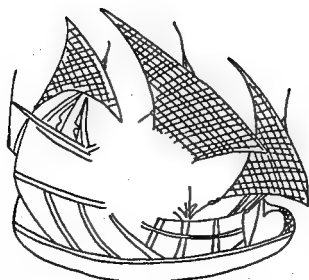
----- Outward voyage

..... Return voyage

**Ships of the eleventh
and twelfth centuries**



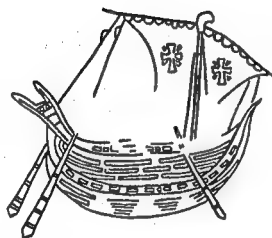
**Byzantine sailing ship of the
twelfth century, from a MS.
from Mount Athos**



**Muslim sailing ship of the
eleventh century, from a *bacino*
from Majorca at Pisa**



**Byzantine dromon of the
twelfth century, from a MS.
from Mount Athos**



**Venetian sailing ship of the
twelfth century, from the *Pala d'oro*
in St. Mark's cathedral**

THE VOYAGES OF SAEWULF

by John H. Pryor,
Department of History,
University of Sydney.

Saewulf arrived in Apulia sometime before the 13th of July, 1102 (lines 9-10). The prosperity of this region had been promoted greatly by Byzantine rule in the tenth and eleventh centuries and after the Norman conquest of the 1070s, its maritime traffic expanded widely. In the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, it became a major centre for commercial, passenger, and Crusader traffic to the Holy Land and the Levant.⁽¹⁾

As early as 991 Venice had been able to secure privileges for her own ships from the Byzantine emperor Basil II only on condition that Baresi and other Lombards were not travelling on them, a sure indication that ships from Bari and Apulia were already travelling to Byzantium in numbers. In 1071 Robert Guiscard managed to collect a fleet of 58 ships at Otranto for an attack on Muslim Sicily and ten years later he again gathered a fleet of 150 ships at Brindisi for his assault on the Byzantine Balkans. That a thriving merchant marine existed in south-east Italy in the second half of the eleventh century is also indicated by the fact that the oldest code of maritime law to survive from the Latin West is the *Ordinamenta et consuetudo maris* of Trani, dated to 1063 by its own testimony.⁽²⁾ And, just as the role attributed to the Genoese in the apocryphal pilgrimage of Godfrey of Bouillon to Jerusalem indicates that it was widely known that they had been active in the Levant before the First Crusade, so also a major role for Barese ships in the East before the Crusade is suggested by their prominence in the, also probably apocryphal, pilgrimage of Peter the Hermit.⁽³⁾ During the First Crusade the armies of Bohemond of Taranto, Robert of Flanders, Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Blois were all transported from Bari or Brindisi across the Adriatic to Durazzo and Epirus

(1) See G. Cassandro, "I porti pugliesi nel medioevo", *Nuova antologia*, 507 (Sett.-Dic. 1969), 3-34 and G. de Gennaro, "Commercio e navigazione nella Puglia medioevale", *Economia e storia*, 18 (1971), 71-76.

(2) T. Twiss, ed., *Monumenta juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty. Appendix - part IV* (London, 1876), pp. 521-543.

(3) B.Z. Kedar, "Mercanti genovesi in Alessandria d'Egitto negli anni sessanta del secolo XI", in *Miscellanea di studi storici*, II (Genoa, 1983), 19-30, here pp. 26-27; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *Recueil*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1879), I.5 (p. 273); William of Tyre, *Chronicle*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986), I.12, 31-35 (p. 127).

by Apulian fleets. Some of the ships available in Apulia were evidently very large for the period for the Byzantines were amazed by the size of one three-masted ship leased by the Count of Prebentza. Any ship large enough to have three masts would have been unusual in this period.⁽⁴⁾ Apulia was certainly a major point of departure for the Holy Land in the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and even its apparent overshadowing later on by Genoa, Venice, and Marseilles may be overstated. Historians have been drawn to this conclusion by the weight of documentary evidence from the northern ports, documentary evidence which does not survive from Apulia, but in the mid twelfth century al-Idrīsī referred to Apulia as a region of flourishing ports. Taranto, Otranto, Brindisi, and Bari were centres of maritime commerce, shipbuilding, and overseas transportation.⁽⁵⁾ Around 1173, Benjamin of Tudela wrote that at Trani: "all the pilgrims gather to go to Jerusalem; for the port is a convenient one".⁽⁶⁾

Saewulf's departure is intriguing for he says that he could not find a ship sailing the high-seas route to Jaffa and was forced to follow an indirect coastal route (2-5). In the years immediately following the capture of Jerusalem there may have been such a heavy exodus of pilgrims, merchants, and Crusaders to the Holy Land that it strained the resources of the Apulian merchant marine.⁽⁷⁾ Moreover, Saewulf left Monopoli only on 13 July (8-10). This was very late in the sailing season. In the thirteenth century most ships left the West in spring.⁽⁸⁾ The most satisfactory scenario seems to be that Saewulf reached Apulia only in high summer, was unable to find a ship still to sail for Jaffa because of demand, and determined to make his way east as best he could.

At Monopoli he found a coasting vessel bound for Corinth which then stopped to trade at various places en route: Kerkira

(4) Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E.A.S. Dawes (London, 1967), X.8 (pp. 254-257). On the size of ships see J.H. Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war: studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1988), ch. 2; Pryor and S. Bellabarba, "The medieval Muslim ships of the Pisan *basin*", *Mariner's Mirror*, 76 (1990), 99-113.

(5) Al-Idrīsī, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, trans. P.A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836, 1840), vol. 2, pp. 118-121, 263-265.

(6) Benjamin of Tudela, *The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, trans. M.A. Adler (London, 1907), p. 9.

(7) Albert of Aachen says that 200 merchant and pilgrim ships arrived in the Holy Land from the West in 1102 (see n. 25 below). An exodus of this magnitude would have taxed the shipping resources of the West in general, let alone of Apulia in particular.

(8) There was, however, a smaller sailing of ships for the Levant in late July and August to arrive in October. On these sailings, *transitus*, see Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, Introduction and ch. 4.

on Corfu, Fiskhardo on Kefallinia, Polipolis (which was probably Killinis)⁽⁹⁾, and Patras (16-23). The boat must have stopped over at various places en route for it took 28 days to make Corinth from Monopoli (25-26), an average of only one knot and rather slow by the standards of medieval voyages in conditions where the prevailing winds were usually favourable.⁽¹⁰⁾ It is, however, true that some time may have been lost in repairs to the boat. It was almost shipwrecked out of Monopoli but was able to put in to Brindisi for repairs (12-16). How long these took, we do not know.

In high summer weather conditions in the southern Adriatic are usually very clement.⁽¹¹⁾ The meteorology is dominated in the western basin of the Mediterranean by the Azores high-pressure anti-cyclone and in the eastern basin by the Anatolian ridge of the Indo-Persian low-pressure monsoonal system. These systems meet and interact over the Adriatic and Ionian seas. From July to September they generate light to moderate winds along Saewulf's route from Monopoli to Livadhostron. Average

(9) By the thirteenth century the ancient ruins of Elis were known as *Palaiopolis*. See A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Paris, 1951), p. 162. However, this was some five miles inland. Saewulf probably meant the nearby port of Killinis, which became the Glarenza of the Frankish principality of the Morea in the thirteenth century.

In this study I have used the orthography for place names used in the British Admiralty, *Mediterranean Pilot* and *Black Sea Pilot* (see n. 12 below) except in cases of large and prominent places with accepted English orthographies, and except that I have deleted Greek accents.

(10) On the speed of medieval voyages see Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, ch. 2. Benjamin of Tudela made the passage from Otranto to Corinth in 12.5 days, but this included some to-ing and fro-ing and some overland trips. See Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, pp. 9-10.

(11) For this study of Saewulf's voyages, I have made extensive use of modern meteorological and oceanographic observations to assist in explaining his routes and voyage times. This immediately raises the obvious issue of the usefulness of such modern data for analysis of twelfth-century voyages. There has, of course, been climatic change over the centuries and, therefore, how can we know that the modern data are relevant?

To address this issue in detail would require a lengthy study of its own. However, some points can be made briefly. First, research into climatic history has shown that the climate of the twelfth century was quite similar to what it has been over the last century or so. Secondly, very large changes in climate would be necessary before any major changes in prevailing wind systems or ocean currents would occur. The climatic changes which can be documented over the past three millennia have not been anywhere near as severe as they would need to be in order to cause such changes. Thirdly, observations of prevailing winds and ocean currents recorded in historical sources from classical antiquity through to the end of the Middle Ages invariably accord well with the modern data. On this issue see further, J.H. Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, Preface to the paperback edition (Cambridge, 1992), pp. xviii-xix.

wind speeds are only around eight knots.⁽¹²⁾ Of course it is always possible that Saewulf was desperately unlucky and that his boat was struck by one of the rare gales in the Adriatic in July. But his own testimony renders this unlikely. Gales in the southern Adriatic are normally offshoots of a north-easterly *bora* on the Dalmatian coast or of a south-easterly *scirocco* from North Africa. But both are almost unknown in high summer. Moreover, the boat was forced south to Brindisi for repairs (15-16). Had it encountered a *scirocco*, it would have been driven north. Had the gale been a north-easterly generated by the *bora*, it would most probably have been driven aground since there is no shelter along this coast, the holding ground is poor, and the wind would have been directly onshore. In all likelihood, what happened was that the prevailing north-westerlies strengthened up to Beaufort force five or six, 17-27 knots and because the boat was so small, its rigging was damaged and it was compelled to put back to shore, scudding south to Brindisi before the wind and carried along by the current. From Testa del Gargano to Otranto a southerly current up to six miles offshore averages 1.5 knots and reaches up to 3 knots in northerly winds.

Conditions for the crossing of the Adriatic should have been good, with light to moderate winds from astern. Saewulf says that the boat was blown to Kefallinia from Corfu by a great storm (18-19) but again it was probably no more than strong north-westerlies. South of Corfu the route lay inshore of Paxoi and Andipaxoi, where shelter could have been found almost anywhere had it been a real storm.

Between Monopoli and Brindisi the coast is clear of dangers

(12) I have used throughout Great Britain, Admiralty, Hydrographic Office, *Mediterranean Pilot*, vol. 3, 9th ed. (London, 1970); vol. 4, 9th ed. (London, 1968); vol. 5, 6th ed. (London, 1976); *Black Sea Pilot*, 11th ed. (London, 1969); and Great Britain, Air Ministry, Meteorological Office, *Weather in the Mediterranean*, 2nd ed. (London, 1962), vol. 2.

I have had extensive recourse to prevailing average wind directions, frequencies, and strengths for the seasons and areas in which Saewulf's ships were sailing. It might be objected to this that prevailing, seasonal meteorological conditions have little relevance to understanding what a particular ship did on a particular day. It is not possible to know whether the prevailing weather patterns were in operation on any particular day or whether some abnormal conditions may have been encountered. This is true, of course. However, the point about prevailing conditions is that they help to explain conscious choices of route taken by seamen. Throughout the days of sail, from classical antiquity to the nineteenth century, commercial shipping always attempted to sail in harmony with prevailing weather patterns rather than in defiance of them. To do otherwise was to challenge the odds and that made neither economic nor navigational sense. On this see further, Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, esp. Introduction and chs 1-3.

more than a mile or so offshore but running in to Brindisi the shoals north and west of Sant'Andrea island at the entrance to the harbour would have had to have been avoided.⁽¹³⁾ Leaving Brindisi south of Sant'Andrea island, between it and the shoals and rocks of Le Pedagne a mile to the east, the boat would have held out to sea a couple of miles to round the *secca de Licza*, the shoals beginning off Cape di Torre Cavallo and continuing south to Lecce and beyond. Beyond Brindisi a master would have sailed as close to the wind as he could in order to cross to the Albanian coast and run down to the Errikousa islands north-west of Corfu. The main island of Othonoi, known as *Tano* or *Fano* in the Middle Ages was a major landmark in the medieval portolans. Heading south, Saewulf's boat would have run into Corfu Channel between the island and the mainland in order to make port at Kerkira on the east coast, always a major port of call for ships sailing from the Adriatic to the Holy Land. Corfu had been occupied temporarily by Robert Guiscard in 1083-1084 but by Saewulf's time it had been recovered for Byzantium by Alexios I Komnenos and his Venetian allies. After leaving Kerkira, the boat would have had to beware of the shoals of *Le Formigue* off Cape Asprokavos at the southern tip of the island because they lay on the direct route from Kerkira to inshore of Paxoi, the normal medieval route south from Corfu to Levkas, Kefallinia, and the Gulf of Patras.

Kefallinia was the capital of the Byzantine theme in the Ionian islands and the governor had his seat at Ayios Yeoryios on the south-west of the island. However, Robert Guiscard had founded a new town at *Porto Guiscardo*, modern Fiskhardo, in the north-east of the island when he occupied it in 1083-1085. Fiskhardo rapidly became the medieval port of Kefallinia and was probably Saewulf's port of call. The approach to it lay through Ithaka Strait, which is narrow and dangerous for a

(13) For details of coastal geography, ports, and offshore dangers, I have used the Mediterranean and Black Sea Pilots but have also had recourse to the medieval portolans. It must always be borne in mind that the modern Pilots are written for the use of large modern ships with much deeper draft and less manoeuvrability than the small sailing ships of the Middle Ages. Many dangers referred to in them would have posed no danger at all to medieval shipping. In some cases medieval seamen may not even have realised that they were there. Therefore the use of the medieval portolans in conjunction with the Pilot Books is very important. In this study, wherever I have made use of the Pilot Books for discussion of dangers on the routes, I have been careful to include only those dangers which ought to have posed a problem for medieval shipping as well.

I have used R.B. Motzo, ed., *Il compasso di navigare* (Cagliari, 1947); K. Kretschmer, *Die Italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1909); Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. 2 (Hanover, 1611).

sailing ship because of its uncertain currents, depths too great for anchoring, and strong winds off adjacent highlands at times. But Fiskhardo itself was a safe anchorage, described as a good port in the portolans.

From Fiskhardo it was a simple leg south around Ithaka and east to landfall on the mainland at Killinis. Strong tidal streams from Patras onwards at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth may have made the passage between capes Rion and Andirion somewhat tricky but the prevailing north-westerly winds ought to have driven the boat through safely enough.

At Corinth Saewulf suffered many *contraria* (27-28). Did the Byzantine officials give him a hard time, or did he cross the isthmus to *Cenchrae*, Sophikon, hoping to find another boat there on which to continue, but being disappointed and forced to return to Corinth? Time was certainly lost somehow since he reached Corinth on 9 August (25-26) but Negropont not until 23 August (30-31), even though the overland trip from Livadhostron (28-31) took only three days. Livadhostron Bay is wide, deep and free of dangers, providing easy access to Thebes (29-30) and Boeotia via the valley of the river Livadhostron between the Kithairon mountains and the plain of Thebes. Later in the Middle Ages it became an important terminus for overland access to Thebes and Negropont.

At Negropont Saewulf took passage on what must have been a Byzantine coastal trader (31-32). The circuitous route taken through the Aegean indicates a ship not engaged primarily in traffic to the Levant. The periods spent in huts and empty hovels on the various islands (89) can only refer to lay-overs imposed by stopping at the island ports to trade. Moreover, the decision to make the trip north from Amorgos to Mitilini into the teeth of the *meltemi*, the famous Etesian winds of antiquity, which blow steadily and strongly from the north from May through to September, can only have been motivated by a desire to conduct business at the islands en route.

At the end of the eleventh century Evvoia, medieval Negropont, was, as it always had been, one of the most important islands in the Aegean. Archaeological investigations have revealed a dense and increasing population and in 1082 the main town of Negropont had been one of the ports of the Empire to which Venice was given access by Alexios I Komnenos, indicating that it was already important to her commerce. Negropont town lay on the mainland side of the island at the Evripas, a narrow channel between Evvoia and the mainland said to be only 15 *passi* (28.54 yards) wide in the mediæval portolans and which even today is only 43 yards wide. The bridge across the channel, the *negroponte*, originally built in 410 B.C., had still existed as a sliding bridge in the sixth century and was to do so again as a swing bridge later in the Middle Ages. However,

in Sæwulf's day there was probably no bridge still standing. When Evvoia submitted to Boniface of Montferrat after the Fourth Crusade, a pontoon bridge had to be built to carry his troops across to the island. If there was a bridge in Sæwulf's day, it may have been only a fixed bridge under which galleys could pass by lowering their masts and using their oars but which blocked the channel for sailing ships.

Tidal streams in the Evripos reach up to seven knots, changing direction every six hours or so, and making the exit to the south and through Dhiavlos Evripos extremely tricky. Both the Evripos itself and Dhiavlos Evripos are fringed by shoals and banks and the navigable channel in the latter narrows to a hundred yards, the length of a ship according to the medieval portolans. However, catching the ebb tide and driven by the prevailing northerlies, Sæwulf's ship should have reached Passas island without excessive difficulty. From here the gulfs of Evvoia and Petalion lay open to Kafiress Strait between Evvoia and Andros. Of the many dangers in the gulfs, only the Petalioi islands, visited by Sæwulf (37-38), were singled out in the portolans.

From Petalion the ship had to mount Kafiress Strait against the *meltemi* and the strong south-westerly current generated by the northerly winds. She would have stayed close in to Evvoia as far as Kastri Bay and then crossed the strait to round Cape Kambanos at the north-east tip of Andros (38).

The ancient city of Andros had lain on the sheltered south-west side of the island but by around 1000 A.D., as a response to conditions of insecurity, the centre of settlement had moved to its centre, inland of modern Kastron. In the twelfth century the island was to experience economic and demographic expansion, perhaps as a result of its reputation for fine silk samite cloth, referred to by Sæwulf himself (38-39) and confirmed by other sources. According to al-Idrisi, in the mid twelfth century Andros was populous and flourishing, and it had been sufficiently so by 1124-1125 to induce the Venetians to pillage it.

From Andros the boat would have run south-east into Tinos Strait, carried by current and prevailing winds, then south down the west coast of Tinos to the town at its south-western tip (39). From there it was about 13 miles west-south-west to Ermoupolis or Siros, the Roman and Byzantine town of Siros island (39), and then some 19 miles due east to Mikonos (40) and its town at the head of Korfos Bay on the north-west coast. Korfos Bay is a good anchorage although an unpleasant swell can drive into it during the *meltemi* and its approaches from the west are obstructed by the rocks and shoals of Kavouronisi.

Naxos (40) lay only 24 miles south of Mikonos but the passage of Dhiolos/Mikonos Strait, which is narrow, flanked by banks on both sides, and blocked in the middle by the Prasonisia islets

and shoals, had to be negotiated first. This passage, like those of most of the channels through the Cyclades, would have been best made in daylight, even though there were lighthouses on some of the islands. Once past the Prasonisia islets, it would have been a clear run to Naxos harbour but a sharp lookout would have had to have been kept at the entrance to Naxos for Frouros Rock, awash in the approaches. Naxos was the largest and most populous of the Cyclades, noted for its cattle and sheep. After the Fourth Crusade it became the capital of the Duchy of the Archipelago. Strangely, it did not appear amongst the ports of the Empire to which the Venetians were given access in 1082. But this may indicate that, like Mitilini and Rhodes (see below), it was considered too important to allow them access to it. Whatever the case, it was a natural port of call for Saewulf's boat.

Naxos to Amorgos (41) was another intricate passage to be covered in daylight. Leaving Naxos, Frouros Rock had to be rounded against the prevailing wind and southerly current sweeping into Naxos/Paros Strait. The Strait itself is only about 2.75 miles wide and is flanked on the eastern side by rocks and shoals. Tsamban and Amaridhes rocks in the middle of the channel are exceptionally dangerous. A vessel should stay close to Paros until able to round Cape Katomeri and its shoals. But then the channel between Ekhinousa and Kato Koufonisos is even narrower, with Glaros islet directly in the fairway. But from there the approach to the village of Karos (41) on the north-west side of that island is free of danger.

The prosperity of Amorgos had been stimulated in 1088 by the foundation of the monastery of the Chozoviotissa. By al-Idrisi's day it was an important island with a town and castle some distance inland but an anchorage for them in Katapola Bay on the north-west coast which offered good protection in most conditions.

From Negropont to Amorgos, Saewulf's narrative (31-41) reads as though the master of Saewulf's ship was running south, dropping off to either side of his main route to trade wherever there were prospects. In the easy conditions prevailing on this section of his route, this would have been the natural thing to do. But from Amorgos on he appears to have wanted to press on to Mitilini for some particular purpose and, knowing that the voyage would be difficult, he made only two stops en route: Samos and Khios (41). A number of other well-known islands lay near the ship's path: Patmos, Fournoi, and Ikaria in particular. However, for this leg of the voyage the winds are favourable only 27% of the time. These are conditions in which a medieval sailing ship would have found it extremely difficult to make headway. They explain the course north-east to Samos rather than direct to Mitilini or Khios. Close in to the Anatolian

coast the prevailing northerlies are mitigated somewhat by the diurnal land and sea breezes. Ships can sometimes reach along the coasts when they may not be able to make headway against the prevailing winds out to sea. Moreover, the current generally sets north along these coasts and can attain considerable strength through the narrower channels.

Samos, Khios, and Mitilini (41-42) were the largest and most populous of the islands off the west coast of Asia Minor. In succession they lay astride natural routes of navigation north and south from the Dardanelles to Rhodes. All had played important roles in Byzantine maritime history. In the eleventh century they had declined somewhat, but they were still amongst the important conquests of the Seljuq chief Tzachas in 1089-1093 and they contributed much to his naval strength. After his defeat by the admirals of Alexios I, they became bases for squadrons of the Byzantine navy. In Saewulf's day they were prosperous centres of maritime traffic and, together with Andros and Khios, were targets tempting enough to attract Venetian attention in 1124-1125.

In the late eleventh century Samos was a theme of the Byzantine Empire in its own right, with its own *strategos*. It was populous and fertile and noted for its cattle and sheep. The town and fortress, dating from the tenth century, lay in Vathi Bay, a good anchorage; although, the *meltemi* can drive a heavy swell into it and the depths must have been shallow since the Parma-Magliabecchi portolan recommended sounding with a lead line when entering. From Amorgos (41), Saewulf's ship probably headed north-east between Patmos and the Fournoi islets and then through Samos Strait. This route would have avoided a long haul against the *meltemi*, particularly if it swung to the north-west. Then the ship would have the wind on the port beam and could run through Samos Strait with the current and the *meltemi* or with the coastal breezes if these were dominant in the strait. But it would have been wise to negotiate the Patmos/Fournoi islets passage in daylight because the Anidhros islets lie about 2.5 miles north of Patmos and have Petrokaravo reef west of them and Fournoi Rock in the middle of the channel between Anidhros and Makronisi islet.

From Samos to Khios (41) would undoubtedly have been a difficult passage since the general direction is directly against the *meltemi*. The ship would have had either to tack constantly or else to take a very indirect route: north-east from Samos to the Anatolian coast and then close in to shore to round Cape Ak into Khios Strait. The port of Khios on the east coast of the island was safe, sheltered by the island itself and by the Oinousai islets at the northern end of the strait. The southern entrance is obstructed by Panayia island and Paspargos islet but the channels either side of these are clear and deep and

the current sets north. With care the approach to Khios ought not to have been unduly difficult; however, the exit north may have been. Spalmatori Strait between Khios and Oinoussa island is deep and free of dangers but it runs due north and is only about a mile wide. If the wind was northerly, as it almost certainly would have been, tacking out would have been difficult. A better route would have been the longer one north-east between Pasha islet and Kara island into Eğri Limani Channel, round Cape Kara peninsula, and north to Mitilini Strait.

Khios had been given a fortified citadel by the Byzantines at the end of the tenth century. Venice was given access to the island by Alexios I in 1082 and in the twelfth century it was described as well populated with a pretty town by al-Idrisi. It became famous for its mastic, a resin made into a gum for medicinal and confectionary purposes.

The town of Mitilini (42) straddled a small promontory on the east coast of the island, on the crown of which stood the fortress, recently reconstructed by Alexios I. In antiquity the promontory had been a small islet but by Saewulf's time it had become joined to Mitilini, giving the town harbours to both north and south and sheltered anchorage in almost all conditions. Archaeological and other evidence indicates that by the late eleventh century the island was prosperous and increasing in population, even though it was not included in the chrysobull of 1082 for the Venetians. As in the cases of Naxos and Rhodes, this may indicate its importance to the Empire at the time rather than the reverse. In summer northerly winds prevail in Mitilini Strait but it is wide, deep, and clear of dangers except for a spit off Cape Malea at the south-east tip of the island. The haul up to Mitilini may have involved much tacking and have been tedious and frustrating, but it ought not to have been particularly difficult.

Their business at Mitilini concluded, all on board must have looked forward to a straightforward and swift run down to Rhodes, Cyprus, and Jaffa. The prevailing winds for this third leg of the voyage are favourable 81% of the time, even more so than for the first leg.

From Mitilini to Patmos (42) the route ran through Khios Strait to the Samos/Fournoi Channel and then between Patmos and Arki to anchorage at Skala village in the south-east indent of Patmos, the final approach being obstructed between Capes Yeranos and Tragos by the Sklavaki reefs and Khelia island.

Patmos had been largely deserted from the seventh century until late in the eleventh when the monastery of St John was founded by the blessed Christodulos. The operations of the monastery's own merchant fleet became quite extensive and under its influence the island prospered.

From Patmos, Saewulf went to Leros (46-47), whose main

town was in Alinda Bay on the east coast. Remains of the medieval town and castle, referred to by al-Idrisi, still exist. Again this leg of the voyage would have demanded daylight navigation for Patmos had to be left through the narrow channel between Khelia reef and Tragos island. Then, Lipso Channel between Leros and Lipso was obstructed by rocks and shoals with passages of only a mile or so between them.

The port of Kalimnos (47), a good one according to al-Idrisi, was in the far south-east corner of the island, necessitating a voyage out to sea down the east coast of Leros to avoid Ayia Kiriaki and Peganousi islets, across Leros Strait, and through Kalimnos Channel between the island and Plati islet west of Pserimos into Kalimnos harbour.

Kos (47), well populated and known for its fine cattle, had a town on the site of the ancient city opposite the mainland. The safer but longer route to Kos from Kalimnos lay east to Cape Khali, north-east through Kalimnos Channel, round Pserimos to the north, and through Kos Channel between the mainland and the island. The shorter route ran through Kapari Strait between Kos and Pserimos to round Cape Ammoglossa at the north-east tip of Kos. However, this necessitated a long reach through Kapari Strait along a lee shore with little room to manoeuvre. The strait has a channel only about 1650 yards wide between Tesseremi Rock off Pserimos and the long shoal spit reaching north from Kos into the channel, which has a patch with only nine feet of water over it some 1350 yards out. Even for shallow-drafted medieval ships, this would be dangerous. But no matter which route was taken, Kos Channel was also hazardous, obstructed on the north side by a spit off Cape Ammoglossa which has a rock with only 15.5 feet of water over it half a mile out, leaving a channel only about a mile and half wide.

Sæwulf's next port of call was the ruined city of *Lido* (48-49), ancient Knidos or Cnidus. There had been two such cities in antiquity, the first on the site of modern Datscha about 1.5 miles north-east of the foot of the Resadiye peninsula and the second, to which the Knidians moved after the Persian invasions, at the tip of Cape Krio or Deve Boynu at the end of the peninsula. In all probability Sæwulf's city was that at Datscha. Here, by the fifteenth century, lay a fortress and a town along the shore known as *Standia*. In 1099 a Byzantine fleet in pursuit of a Pisan one heading towards Rhodes from Kos also put in here. Clearly the place was of some importance in Sæwulf's period and remained so until the end of the Middle Ages.

Simi (50) lay just a few miles south-east of Datscha, with its harbour in the virtual bay formed by the north coast of the island and Nimos hard by to the north. The channel between the two islands is extremely narrow and has depths of only 12-

15 feet in it. Even in the Middle Ages it was barely navigable for the Parma-Magliabecchi portolan said that care and soundings were needed to pass between the two islands. From Simi a ship would run south to Cape Alobi into Rhodes Channel, which is wide and safe except for the westward-setting current which in strong north to north-west winds can set in towards Cape Zonari at the northern tip of Rhodes, sucking ships into danger. It would be best to run east along the mainland shore until east of a line north from Rhodes and then tack back south-west into the harbour. In this way Kolona shoal, mentioned by the Rizo portolan as being half a mile off *ponta de Sancto Antonio*, the northern mole of Mandraki harbour, could be avoided.

Rhodes (51), of course, had always been one of the great ports of the Mediterranean because of its situation at the natural crossroads of sea lanes from the Levant to the Aegean and from the West to the Holy Land and Egypt. As the Byzantine chronicler John Kinnamos said some fifty years after Saewulf, the "landfall for the Latin races bound for Palestine was at the island of Rhodes".⁽¹⁴⁾ In the earlier Middle Ages the island had been attacked repeatedly by the Muslims, compromising seriously Byzantine authority over it. In 1089-1093 Tzachas had raided and perhaps occupied it and even after his death other Turkish corsairs did so again in 1097. However, in spite of Muslim attentions, Rhodes remained Byzantine and at the end of the eleventh century was reasonably well populated and on the verge of a new age of prosperity as a part of both the economic and political expansion of the Byzantine Empire in the twelfth century and also the rapidly growing maritime traffic between the Levant and the West. Surviving fortifications of the port and town date from the eleventh century, when it was already a port of call for Jewish merchants from Egypt on their way to Constantinople. Surprisingly, Rhodes was not included in the chrysobull of 1082 amongst the ports of the empire to which the Venetians were given access. One wonders whether they were excluded from it deliberately because of the importance of the island? At Antioch in 1098 and at Tripoli in 1099, Rhodian ships and merchants brought provisions to the armies of the First Crusade.⁽¹⁵⁾ Later the island was the first target of Venetian attack in 1124-1125.

Although little is known about the topography of Rhodes in

(14) John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. C.M. Brand (N.Y., 1976), p. 151.

(15) William of Tyre, *Chronicle*, VI.9, 23-26 (p. 318) & VII.21, 41-43 (p. 371); Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, in *Recueil*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1886), c. 54 (p. 647).

the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is probable that both the northern harbour of Mandraki and the main harbour of Emborikos already existed. However, Mandraki harbour is extremely shallow and has always been used only for small boats and galleys. Saewulf's ship probably used the main commercial harbour of Emborikos.

From Rhodes Saewulf sailed to ancient Patara (56-57), close inland from Cape Ince at the end of a beach which runs east for about seven miles from Cape Zeytin, the most easterly of the Yedi Capes. Patara has no harbour and also has shoal water offshore for about three quarters of a mile, although the beach itself is sheltered from the east by Cape Ince. The ship was driven into Patara by a storm (58), so it probably just sheltered under the cape for the night. The crossing from Rhodes had been made in a day's sailing (56). This was about 58 miles as the crow flies, at a speed upwards of four knots, good sailing given that the current sets west at almost a knot, and indicating that the ship was indeed driven by strong winds.

Sailing next morning they reached *Sancta Maria Mogronissi*, or *Longa Insula* in Latin (58-60). This was the narrow, elongated island of Kekova, close off the coast. In the Rizo portolan it was two islands, of which the largest was *Magonisi*. The island had a harbour on its south-east coast which was known as *Sanctus Stephanus* in the Middle Ages. It was no doubt here that Saewulf stopped.

Myra was the next port of call (62-63). The ancient city lay near Kumtepe, at the head of a lake which had a narrow outlet to the sea at the eastern end of a beach running east from Cape Kum. As Marino Sanudo Torsello was to say, it was well protected from the sea.⁽¹⁶⁾ Today the lake and the channel to the sea are extremely shallow, but they were probably deeper in the Middle Ages.

Xindacopo (66-67), modern Beş islets and Cape Taşlık off which they lie, medieval Cape Chelidonia and its attendant islets, marked the western end of the Bay of Antalya. The cape was important as a point of departure for Antalya and the coast of Cilicia to the east and for Cyprus to the south-east. Saewulf coasted from Myra around Cape Bunda to Finike (68-69), then to Cape Taşlık and out to sea for Cyprus. Finike was a river port at the mouths of the rivers Başgöz and Tara, which medieval ships could enter. In the earlier Middle Ages it had been a major Byzantine naval base and the site of a disastrous defeat of the Byzantine fleet by the Arabs in 655 A.D. In the twelfth century it became known as *Portus Pisanorum* because

(16) Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, II.iv.26 (p. 90).

it became a haunt for Pisan corsairs preying on maritime traffic between Rhodes and the Levant.

Paphos lies only 145 miles south-east of Cape Taşlik but Saewulf (69-71) says that the trip took three days, a speed of a bare two knots and not good sailing given that the prevailing winds ought to have been astern. The ship must have run into unusual weather patterns. Landfall was made at Cape Arnauti at the north-west tip of Cyprus. The cape's ridge rises some 690 feet above sea level, providing a good landmark far out to sea. From here the ship would have coasted south, avoiding Mazaki islet and its shoals off the cape, rounding those off Cape Drepanum, and turning into the sheltered anchorage at Paphos (70-71).

Saewulf gives no indication of his route from Paphos (76ff.) and it is possible that his ship sailed directly to Jaffa by the open-sea route. However, this is most unlikely. As his own route from Rhodes to Paphos indicates, in the twelfth century shipping stayed close in to land whenever possible. In fact, throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries shipping to the Holy Land normally crossed from Cyprus to Tripoli or Beirut and only then ran south along the coast to Acre or beyond.⁽¹⁷⁾ Al-Idrisi gave the distance from Cyprus to Tripoli as two days' navigation and to Jabala as 1.5 days', as though these were the normal crossings from Cyprus to the coast. Coast watchers were stationed by the Crusaders on a hill south of Beirut to watch for shipping coming down the coast.⁽¹⁸⁾ There is no proof that Saewulf's ship took this route but it was both the normal one for the period and also accords well with her route as far as Paphos.

South of Cyprus the *meltemi* blows more from the west than from the north and a run east along the south coast of Cyprus to Cape Greco should have been easy. Moreover, there are no dangers along the coast except for Vatha rock off capes Gata and Zevgari at the tip of the Akrotiri peninsula. These could be rounded easily a couple of miles offshore and from there the run to Cape Greco and across to the Holy Land around Tripoli or Beirut would be plain sailing. From here on the ship would have stayed a couple of miles offshore, avoiding inshore dangers, and running south past Acre and Haifa, still in Muslim hands in 1102, to Jaffa (91).

The town of Jaffa lay on the hill and point opposite the

(17) Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, chs 3 & 5.

(18) Al-Idrisi, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 130; L. de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (Paris, 1871), pp. 365-366; *L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Oltremer*, in *Recueil*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1859), XXVII.8 (p. 226).

offshore reefs of which Andromeda's Rock is the most famous. It had no real harbour and only a limited anchorage between the reefs and the rocks under the point of the town. Today this has only a few feet of water in it, too shallow for even small boats. It may have been somewhat deeper in the Middle Ages but not markedly so. Further north, off the beach leading to modern Tel Aviv, there was no protection at all from the sea in a south-westerly blow. Not surprisingly, as soon as the Crusaders conquered Acre in 1104, that port became the major port of disembarkation for pilgrims to Jerusalem even though it was some fifty miles further from the Holy City than Jaffa.⁽¹⁹⁾ The nature of Jaffa's roadstead makes the severe damage caused by the storm described so vividly by Saewulf (98-148) comprehensible. Small ships and galleys may have been anchored inshore of the reefs. Here they would have been driven onto the rocks beneath the town when their anchors dragged. Larger ships, such as Saewulf's own, would have been anchored further out to sea, north of Andromeda's Rock. In deeper water, with better holding ground, and carrying more anchors, they would have survived better for a time. However, they could not put out to sea and safety because the storm was driving in from the west or north-west and, without any protection from the sea, many of these were also eventually driven onto the beaches.

Saewulf identifies three general types of ships present at Jaffa during the storm: *dromundi*, *gulafri*, and *catti* (141-143). Later in the text (576-577) he refers to the ship on which he began his return voyage from Jaffa as a *dromundus*. *Dromundus* was derived from the Greek δρόμων. Originally, in the sixth century, the δρόμων had been an oared warship with a single bank of oars. By the ninth century it had acquired two banks.⁽²⁰⁾ However, in succeeding centuries the word acquired a generic meaning for any kind of large ship, not necessarily oared. Western travellers frequently used variants of it for sailing ships in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and this is what Saewulf appears to have done. He does not refer to oars or oarsmen anywhere in his account of the storm or of his voyages in general, but he repeatedly refers to the winds and how they affected his ships, indicating clearly that they were sailing ships. *Catti*, however, definitely were oared galleys: assuming, that is, that Saewulf was using the term accurately. The origins of the ship type are obscure. It was probably derived from the ἀκάτιον/ἀκατήναριον of Egyptian Greco-Arabic papyri of the seventh century, and the Byzantine Greek κατήνα and Arabic *qit'a* (pl. *aqtā*) which were descended from them. William of

(19) Cf. Th 1317-1320.

(20) See Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, pp. 58-61.

Tyre said that *gati* were galleys larger than the norm whose oars were pulled by two oarsmen rather than the usual one.⁽²¹⁾ *Gulafri*, the third type of ship referred to by Saewulf, is more problematical. Jal believed that *golafrus* was the same as the *golabius/gulabus* found in the Genoese annals of Caffaro and the *garabus* in Pisan sources.⁽²²⁾ He suggested that the term was derived from the Arabic *ghorāb/ghurāb* and referred to a galley somewhat smaller than the norm. However, in the Genoese annals the term is used for fleet supply ships in the same way as *salandrium/salandanum* and, in a later period, *tarida*. Probably, therefore, these *gulafri* or *golabii/gulabi* were oared transports, merchant galleys, somewhat broader in the beam, stubbier, and with a greater cargo capacity than the normal war galley.

A number of indicators point to the fact that the ship on which Saewulf left Jaffa (553) was a sailing ship rather than a galley. First, it did not put in overnight to any of the ports along the Syro-Palestinian coast which were already in Crusader hands, as galleys always did.⁽²³⁾ Saewulf also lists the ports in incorrect order, suggesting that he was merely told by someone what they were.⁽²⁴⁾ Secondly, from Laodicea the ship put out to sea for Cape Andreas (586-587) at the north-east tip of Cyprus in an attempt to speed up the voyage by taking a direct, high-seas route to Rhodes. The attempt was unsuccessful but the point is that galleys, because of their low freeboard and extreme susceptibility to being swamped in any sort of a sea, rarely took high-seas routes. The mere attempt to cross to Rhodes via Cyprus suggests a sailing ship. Thirdly, while passing

(21) William of Tyre, *Chronicle*, XII.22, 18-21 (p. 574). But cf. Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, X.49 (p. 654) & XI.27 (p. 675) where *catti* are described as triremes, that is galleys with three oarsmen and three oars per rowing bench. Albert was almost certainly correct and William mistaken. There is no other evidence from anywhere in the Mediterranean for oars pulled by more than one oarsman before the fourteenth century. See also B. Kreutz, "Ships, shipping, and the implications of change in the early medieval Mediterranean", *Viator*, 7 (1976), 79-109, here p. 103; A.M. Fahmy, *Muslim naval organization in the eastern Mediterranean from the 7th to the 10th century A.D.* (Cairo, 1966), p. 126; Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, p. 62.

(22) A. Jal, *Glossaire nautique: répertoire polyglotte de termes de marine anciens et modernes* (Paris, 1848), p. 787. See Caffaro, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, vol. 1, ed. L.T. Belgrano (Genoa, 1890), pp. 28 & 33. However, *gulafrus* as such does not appear in the Genoese annals. See also *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, ed. C. Calisse (Rome, 1904), p. 10. For discussion see Kreutz, "Ships", p. 103; Fahmy, *Muslim naval organization*, pp. 126-133.

(23) See Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, under Galleys, limitations.

(24) Saewulf's order (562-564) is: *Saegete* (Sidon), *Jubelet* (Jebail), *Baruth* (Beirut), *Tartusa* (Tortosa), *Gibel* (Jabala), *Tripolis* (Tripoli), and *Lice* (Laodicea). The correct order is Sidon, Beirut, Jebail, Tripoli, Tortosa, Jabala, and Laodicea.

the Bay of Haifa, Saewulf's ship was attacked by a Fatimid squadron from Tyre and Sidon on its way to Egypt (565-569).⁽²⁵⁾ Later it was attacked again by Muslim galleys along the Syrian and Cilician coasts (590), a common experience in the early days of the Crusader states.⁽²⁶⁾ In the Bay of Haifa two smaller ships in convoy with Saewulf's escaped back into Caesarea using their oars (569-572). These were galleys. However, Saewulf's ship made no attempt to do so. The *castellum* of the ship was fortified and the Muslims were held at bay from there (574-577). *Castellum* was a common term for the stern castle of sailing ships but was never used in conjunction with galleys. Moreover, the Muslims were forced to break off the attack and this was a common experience for galleys attacking large sailing ships in the Middle Ages.⁽²⁷⁾ There can be little doubt that this *dromundus* on which Saewulf sailed from Jaffa was a large sailing ship.

There was no significant port at Cape Andreas. Saewulf refers to a *Portus Sancti Andreae* (586) but this can have been only a sheltered anchorage or fishing village where the ship sheltered overnight before turning back to Syria because of adverse winds. From Jaffa to Constantinople Saewulf and his companions could expect adverse winds around 63 % of the time and the length of their crossing from Jaffa to Rhodes confirms that they were not spared by the normal weather patterns. Throughout the Middle Ages ships had extreme difficulty crossing from Cyprus to Rhodes by the high seas route and the coastal route to which Saewulf's ship was forced back became the normal and recommended route to the West. The currents along the coasts of Palestine, Syria, and Cilicia set north then west at from around three knots off southern Palestine to around one towards Rhodes. Moreover, because the land in the Levant is subject to extremes

(25) This incident, and the storm in the preceding autumn at Jaffa, enable us to date Saewulf's voyage. Albert of Aachen says that in the summer of 1102 some 200 ships arrived in the Holy Land. This number was lowered to forty by Ibn al-Qalānisi. (See Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, IX.11 (p. 596); Ibn al-Qalānisi, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1967), p. 56). But according to Albert of Aachen many of these ships were destroyed by storms (IX.18 [p. 601]). This corresponds closely to what Saewulf has to say. Then in the spring of 1103, when the Crusaders were besieging Acre, according to Albert a relief fleet of twelve ships from Tyre, Sidon, and Tripoli broke the siege (IX.19 [p. 601-602]). The coincidence between Albert's history and Saewulf's narrative is too great to be ignored. It appears that Saewulf sailed for the Holy Land in the summer of 1102, wintered there, and continued on to Constantinople in the spring of 1103. The same date is provided by lines 9-10 of the Latin text.

(26) See Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095-1127), ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), II.vi.5 (pp. 387-388), II.xliv.5 (pp. 547-548).

(27) See Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, pp. 120-121, 125.

of heating and cooling by day and night, the diurnal cycle of strong sea breezes by day and gentle land breezes by night is very pronounced. Sailing ships could reach along the coasts with these breezes on one or other beam when they could not make headway against the prevailing winds further out to sea.

Port St Simeon (588) was the Crusader port of Antioch at the mouth of the Orontes river, today Süveydiye about 1.5 miles up river. It is not mentioned in the later medieval portolans, which refer simply to the mouth of the Orontes, *la foce de lo Soldino*, and may well have silted up before the fall of Antioch to the Mamluks in 1268. *Portus Sanctae Mariae* (588) is unknown. The name does not correspond to any known port between Antioch and Parva Antiochia (589). The latter is today a ruin south of Mount Gragus about 20 miles west of Cape Anamur into the Bay of Antalya. Even in the Middle Ages it had no harbour and was not an important way station. Since Saewulf says (589) that they had been at sea for many days by the time that they reached Parva Antiochia, the ship probably put in there only to take on water and provisions.

From Antiochia the ship crossed the Bay of Antalya and passed Myra and Patara to run into Rhodes some 37 days after leaving Jaffa (552-553, 594-595). This had been an exceedingly slow and, no doubt, frustrating voyage, much time being lost to the notoriously bad weather in the Bay of Antalya which was referred to by so many medieval travellers and writers, some of whom suffered major setbacks in their voyages because of it.⁽²⁸⁾ In this region sudden squalls descend from the Taurus mountains, sweeping ships out to sea or driving them back to the east.

At Rhodes Saewulf and his companions changed ships, hiring a smaller one *ut citius pergeremus* (597). This may mean either "so that we might press on more quickly" or "so that we might continue sooner". On the one hand, it is possible that *citius* means "more quickly" here. If so, because, in fact, larger ships normally sail faster than smaller ones, what this probably means is that Saewulf and his companions chose to proceed in a smaller boat because it would be more manœuvrable, able to stay closer in to the Anatolian coast taking advantage of

(28) Saewulf, 595-596; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, III.59 (pp. 811-812); T. Bellorini & E. Hoade, eds & trans., *Visit to the holy places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384 by Frescobaldi, Gucci and Sigoli* (Jerusalem, 1948), pp. 89, 148-149, 185; Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land and of the way thither, written in the year 1350*, trans. A. Stewart in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. 12, part 3 (London, 1897), p. 13; Nicolaus de Marthono, "Liber peregrinationis", ed. L. Legrand in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 3 (1895), p. 638; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (*Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 51, London, 1868-1871), pp. 158-159.

currents and coastal breezes when a larger one would have had to stay further out to sea and would have been forced to battle the adverse *meltemi*. As early as the fifth century Rutilius Namatianus had pointed to the advantages in manoeuvrability of small boats able to stay close in to shore when travelling in adverse conditions.⁽²⁹⁾ But, on the other hand, it is more probable that *citius* means "sooner" here. In this case, the clause suggests that Saewulf's ship from Jaffa intended to stay for some time in Rhodes or to go to the West rather than to Constantinople and that he and his companions therefore transferred to another ship. This reading is supported by Saewulf's assertion (553) that when he left Jaffa he did so "to return home" (*repatriandi causa*). This suggests a ship sailing home to the West. It appears that between leaving Jaffa and arriving at Rhodes Saewulf and some other passengers changed their mind and decided to go to Constantinople. That was why they had to change ships at Rhodes.

Stroinlo, as the manuscript has it, the next port of call mentioned by Saewulf (598-600), is a clear transcription error for *Strovilo*: ancient Arconnesos, Kara island in the Bay of Mandalya. No one who had made this voyage could have written *Stroinlo*. This is another clear indication that the text as we have it is a copy made by someone who was not personally familiar with the place names and who misread the minims in VI for IN. There are ruins on Kara island which may indicate a medieval fortress of some kind but the island has no port and was not a major settlement in the Middle Ages. The *civitas pulcherrima* to which Saewulf refers (599) must have been the ruins of ancient Halicarnassos on the mainland across the bay: medieval *Petrum*, modern Bodrum. Saewulf says that it had been destroyed by the Turks and this can refer only to the activities of Tzachas in the previous decade. He is not known to have attacked Bodrum but his forces certainly operated along the whole coast as far south as Rhodes. Possibly he had forced the inhabitants to take refuge on Kara island, thus giving rise to Saewulf's confusion. More probably, however, there was a general confusion between the names for the city and the island. The chrysobull of Alexios I of 1082 gave the Venetians access to *Strovilon* and this can only have been the mainland city and port.

Bodrum and Kara island lie inside the Gulf of Kos. To make the exit through Kos Channel amongst the obstacles off Cape

(29) Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo*, in A.M. Duff, ed. & trans., *Minor Latin poets* (London, 1934), 753-829; here I.219-222 (p. 783). See J.H. Pryor, "The voyage of Rutilius Namatianus: from Rome to Gaul in 417 CE", *Mediterranean historical review*, 4 (1989), 271-280; here p. 272.

Fener and then between Pserimos and the mainland necessitated a hard haul against the prevailing winds, which in summer usually sweep into the channel from the west at from ten to twenty knots during the day. Not surprisingly, Saewulf was held up at Bodrum for many days by contrary winds (600-601).

From Bodrum they eventually made their way north along the coast through Samos and Khios straits (601-603), retracing the route of the previous summer. At Khios Saewulf changed ships again for he says that he left his ship and companions there (603-604). The others must have tired of the tedious voyage north. They had reached Rhodes on 22 June (594-595) but Saewulf himself only made Rodosto the day after Michaelmas, 29 September (619-620). It was probably already late July or August by the time that they made Khios and already it had been a long trip from Jaffa with no immediate end in sight. From Khios north the voyage had a notorious reputation and times of a month or more to Constantinople were not uncommon.⁽³⁰⁾ The master of the ship and Saewulf's fellow travellers apparently decided to give up the attempt to reach Constantinople.

From Khios, Izmir, a port famous throughout the Middle Ages under both Byzantine and Turkish rule, was passed but not entered (604-605). Then on to Mitilini and Tenedos (605-606), the last port of call before the Dardanelles, whose strategic importance was created by the difficulties of mounting the Dardanelles. Because the level of the Black Sea is some seventeen inches higher than the Aegean, a strong current flows out through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. It averages around 2.5-3 knots in the Dardanelles but can increase to around seven. Prevailing winds add to the difficulties. Winds from north around to east predominate in the whole region and in the actual Dardanelles in summer and early autumn they are almost entirely from the north and north-east. Throughout the days of sail, ships were forced to wait off the approaches to the Dardanelles for brief breaks in the prevailing weather pattern which would enable them to mount the straits. Tenedos thus became a crucial staging post.

Tenedos (606) had a small but good anchorage in a bay under the town and fortress on its eastern side, providing shelter in all but east to south-east winds. The approaches from the south are clear of dangers but the exit north to the Dardanelles is obstructed by shoals off Cape Krum reaching out to Ocean Rock and by the Esek islets in the middle of the channel between the rock and the island. Moreover, the current normally

(30) See Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, p. 98.

sets south through the channels at 1.5-2 knots. Further north towards the Dardanelles ships would have had to keep well clear of Tavsan island and its attendant islets and shoals.

Sanctus Femius and *Savithae*, the cities on either side of the Dardanelles to which Saewulf says that he came first (609-615), were the twin cities of Abydos at the turn of the narrows, and either Eceabat or Sestos. *Savithae* was one of the many variants of the name Abydos. The Russian abbot Daniel, who made his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1106-1107, says that the body of St Euthymius the younger was buried at a place opposite Abydos.⁽³¹⁾ This was St Euthymius the surgeon, of Madytos. Madytos or Maydos was modern Eceabat, at which there are still the ruins of a large Greek church. *Sanctus Femius* was a Latinization of the name of St Euthymius. Saewulf may have been referring to Eceabat, but that town never had a major port. Alternatively, he may have meant the major port of Sestos in Ak Baschi Bay, also opposite Abydos but to the north rather than to the west. There was also a cult of St Euthymius at Sestos and the harbour there had been the twin of Abydos throughout the Byzantine period; although, in the chrysobull of 1082 for the Venetians Abydos alone was specified as being open to them, as it had also been in that of Basil II of 991. Whatever the case, Abydos was the key. It lay in the narrowest part of the straits, where they are only a mile wide, fitting Saewulf's comment (615-616) that here the straits could be crossed with three bowshots, even if his estimate of the range of a bow was somewhat optimistic.⁽³²⁾

Gallipoli (618) was always the most important port in the Dardanelles. Located on the northern shore of the straits just where they begin to broaden into the Sea of Marmara, the town was on a small promontory with a harbour on the south-west side. As far as Gallipoli the voyage should have been difficult. The ship would no doubt have stayed close in to the European shore, taking advantage of eddies in the current that create counter-currents along the shores. But from Gallipoli onwards the current is slower because of the width of the Sea of Marmara and, with more sea room in which to tack, contrary winds would not have created difficulties as great as in the straits.

Agios Georgios, to which Saewulf came next (618), was a famous landmark which gave rise to the medieval Western

(31) Daniel, *Pilgrimage*, trans. C.W. Wilson, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (London, 1895), p. 4.

(32) Al-Idrisi was even more sanguine. According to him the width of the straits at Abydos did not exceed one bowshot. He also says that there were two towers here facing each other across the straits and garrisoned with troops. See *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 302.

name for the Dardanelles, the *Brachium Sancti Georgii* (610), and which was marked on portolan charts throughout the later Middle Ages. Significantly, it was not actually discussed in the portolans themselves, indicating that it was not a port. Originally it had been a fortress near the ancient land wall across the head of the Gallipoli peninsula on the site of Examile. The town of Bolayir south-west of Examile was known in the Byzantine period as *Plagiarion*/*Brachiol*/*Brachialum*/*Bracholum* and this probably gave rise to the amalgamation *Brachium Sancti Georgii*, the expression thus having nothing to do with an arm of the sea. At some time a church and monastery of St George were established further along the coast near the towns of Gaziköy and Barbaros respectively. Cape Injeh, east of Examile, then acquired the name of Cape St George. Which of these reference points was the *Agios Georgios* of Saewulf is impossible to say. However, in the later medieval portolans the usual reference point given between Gallipoli and Barbaros was the town of *Longa* or *Longon*, later *Ganos*, modern Gaziköy. Since the monastery of St George was extremely close to Barbaros, which is mentioned by Saewulf as *Paniados* (618-619), I incline to think that his *Agios Georgios* was the church near Gaziköy, or even the town itself.

Paniados (618-619), Barbaros or Panizo, was slightly north of Cape Koca. It was mentioned in the medieval portolans but not as having any great importance. The village lies on the north bank of a small stream and has no harbour.

Rothostoca (620), or Rodosto, modern Tekirdağ, was a more important port well known as a way station in the Byzantine period. As at Barbaros, there was no sheltered harbour here and ships had to anchor in the open roadstead, unprotected from winds from any southerly direction.

Raclea (621) or Recrea was a different matter. Today Marmara-Ereğli, it had the best harbour on the northern coast of the Sea of Marmara. It was an important naval base and port of call for the Byzantines and was described by both abbot Daniel and the *Compasso di navigare* as having a good port, if one difficult of access according to the Parma-Magliabecchi portolan. Both Tekirdağ and Ereğli were specified in the chrysobull of 1082 as being open to the Venetians, no doubt because they were both important as ports of call on the approaches to Constantinople when winds in the Bosphorus were unfavourable. The port of Ereğli lies in a confined cove between capes Ereğli and Adar, from which the remains of the ancient and medieval mole still extend about 400 yards north across the entrance.

Saewulf's narrative breaks off at Ereğli (621-622). What happened? On the one hand, did he himself fail to complete the story of his pilgrimage or did his transcriber fail to finish the

text? On the other hand, there can be no doubt that whoever Saewulf was he had certainly made his pilgrimage. The narratives of the voyages, which at first sight appear to be laconic and devoid of great interest, in fact correspond so closely to the norms for navigation under sail in the twelfth century that they could not conceivably have been written by anyone without personal experience of the voyages in question. His voyage times are fast when they would be expected to be fast and slow when they would be expected to be slow. He met bad weather precisely in those places where bad weather would be expected. His references to the attributes of various islands and ports are accurate. His identification of the types of ships present at Jaffa in 1102 as large sailing ships and two types of transport galleys is precisely what one would expect of commercial and pilgrim fleets. Significantly, he does not mention war galleys, *galeae*. His point of departure in Apulia is again what would be expected in the early twelfth century and, given the nature of the ships on which he had to take passage, the routes of his voyages are also what would be expected. Invariably the route taken can be explained logically by reference to prevailing meteorological and oceanographical patterns.

Even in the incomplete form in which we have it, Saewulf's narrative of his voyages is the best description of voyaging by sea in the Mediterranean in the twelfth century to survive from the Latin West. Had the transcriber completed his work, the approach to Constantinople and the return to the West (if this was made by sea back to Italy rather than overland), it would have added even more than it does as it stands to our comprehension of the norms of navigation in the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages.

SAEWULF

Ego Saewlfus, licet indignus et peccator Ierosolimam pergens
 causa orandi sepulchrum dominicum, dum recto tramite simul
 cum aliis illuc pergentibus, vel pondere pressus peccaminum
 vel penuria navis, per altum pelagus transire nequivi, insulas
 5 tantum per quas perrexī vel nomina earum notare decrevi.
 Quidam vero Varo naves intrant, quidam vero Barlo, quidam
 etiam Sipont vel Trano, quidam utique Otrente in ultimo portu
 Apuliae mare transeunt, nos autem Monopolim, diēta distante
 Varo, navim ascendimus diē dominico, festivitate sanctae Mil-
 10 dride virginis, III^o Idus Iulii, hora egyptiaca sicut nobis post-
 modum evenit: nisi divina nos defenderet clementia, omnes
 summersi essemus. Nam eadem diē, dum a portu in pelagus
 longe remoti essemus, a violentia undarum passi sumus naufrag-
 15 ium, sed deo favente ad litus revertēbamur illesi. Postea vero
 ivimus Brandic ibique iterum diē egyptiaca eandem navim sed
 utcunque refectam ascendimus sicque in insula Grecia ad
 urbem, quae Curphos simul cum insula vocatur, appulimus
 vigilia sancti Iacobi apostoli. Inde etenim venimus ad insulam
 quae Caphalania vocatur, magna tempestate compulsi, in Ka-
 20 lendis Augusti: ibi Rodbertus Gwiscard obiit ibique nostri
 obierunt, unde multum contristabamur. Postea inde remoti
 appulimus Polipolis, deinde vero venimus ad egregiam insulam
 Patras, cuius civitatem intravimus causa orandi beatum AN-
 DREAM apostolum, qui ibi passus est et sepultus sed postea
 25 Constantinopolim est translatus. De Patras Chorinthiam veni-
 mus vigilia sancti LAURENTII, ubi beatus Paulus apostolus ver-
 bum dei predicavit quibusque epistolam scripsit. Ibi multa passi
 sumus contraria. Inde vero transfretavimus ad portum Hostae
 sicque pede, quidam vero asinis, perreximus duas dietas ad
 30 Thebas, quae civitas vulgariter Stivas vocatur. Nam postera diē

2 *causa orandi c. acc.* = 23. Cf. 604. Boethius, *Cons.* 1 m. 7, 23: *tramite recto.* 3 ... *pondere pressus*] Cf. O. Schumann, *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon* (1981) 4, p. 285-286. 4 *per altum pelagus* = 554. 9-10 Sunday 13th July (1102). 10 (and 15) *hora (dies) egyptiaca (dies egyptiacus)*: Augustin, *Expos. ad Galatas* 35, 3-7, CSEL 84, p. 103-104. 11 *nisi divina nos defenderet clementia* = 596, cf. 79 and 97. 13 *violentia undarum* = 123. 14 *deo favente* cf. 104: *divina gratia favente.* *ad litus revertēbamur illesi* = 104-105.130-131.140, cf. 167-168. 15 (= 10) *iterum diē egyptiaca*] 22 July 1102 (Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung* (1982), p. 21a). 18 24 July 1102. 19 *magna tempestate compulsi*] Cf. 58: *maxima tempestate compulsi.* 19-20 1 August 1102. 20 *obiit*: 17 years earlier, in 1085. 21 *postea inde remoti* = 620-621. 23 *causa orandi c. acc.* = 2. 26 9 August 1102. 26-27 *verbum dei predicavit*] Act. 18. 30 (see the critical apparatus) Stivas: Θήβαι/Θήβας.

30 Stivas *correcti*: stinas. Cf. 599 et 618-619

venimus Nigrepontum vigilia sancti Bartholomei apostoli. Ibi autem aliam conduximus navim. Athenae etenim, ubi apostolus Paulus predicavit, distat duas dietas a latere Chorphinthiae, unde beatus DIONISIUS ortus est et doctus et postmodum a beato
 35 Paulo ad dominum conversus; ibi est aecclēsia Beatae Virginis MARIAE, in qua est oleum in lampade semper ardens sed nunquam deficiens. Postea venimus ad insulam quae dicitur Petalio, deinde ad Andriam, ubi fiunt preciosa scindalia et samitae et alia pallia serico contexta. Inde venimus Tino, postea Suram,
 40 deinde Miconiam sicque Naxiam, in cuius latere est Creta memorabilis insula, inde Caream et Omargon et Samo et Scion et Metelina. Postea venimus Pathmos, ubi beatus Iohannes apostolus et evangelista a Domiciano Cesare religatus Apocalipsin scripsit. Ephesus vero est in latere iuxta Smirnam dieta distante,
 45 ubi ipse postmodum vivens sepulchrum introiit. Apostolus Paulus etiam scripsit epistolam ad Ephesios. Deinde venimus ad insulas Lero et Calimno, postea Ancho, ubi natus fuit Galienus medicus probatissimus apud Grecos. Inde vero transivimus per portum Lido civitatis destructae, ubi predicavit Titus discipulus
 50 sancti Pauli apostoli, deinde Asimi venimus, quod 'argentea' interpretatur. Postea vero ad Rodam famosissimam venimus, ubi fuisse dicitur unum ex VII miraculis mundi, ydolum scilicet Colosen, habens in longitudine centum viginti quinque pedes, quod destruxerunt Persi fere cum tota provintia Romaniae
 55 quando Hispaniam perrexerunt; quibus Colossensibus beatus Paulus apostolus scripsit epistolam. Inde dieta distat ad Pateram civitatem, ubi beatus Nicholaus archiepiscopus natus est, quo nos maxima tempestate compulsi sero venimus. Mane vero erectis velis venimus ad urbem omnino desolatam, quae Sanctae
 60 Mariae Mogronissi vocatur, quod 'longa insula' interpretatur, quam Christiani, iam <a> Turcis Alexandria expulsi, sicut in

31 23 August 1102. 32-33 Act. 17, 15ff. 33 a latere Chorphinthiae] 'From the shore of Corinth'. 33, 35 unde ... ibi: Athens. 34-35 Act. 17, 34. 35-37 Cf. J.P.A. van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople*, 1980, p. 199-200. 38 scindalia, (s)cendalia, zindal(i)a: an expensive kind of linen. 42-44 Apoc. 1, 9. 46 etiam] Cf. 27. 47-48 Actually it was Hippocrates who was from Kos. Galenus was from Pergamon. 50 argentea: τὸ ἀσήμι = ὁ ἄργυρος. 51 Rodam] Cf. 595 and 597. 55-56 Sic! Cf. 564. 58 maxima tempestate compulsi] Cf. 19: *magna tempestate compulsi*. 60 longa insula] Μακρόνησος (νησίον = νησίς).

40 Micomiam 44 latera 47 Galienus (= Galenus) sic 53 habens
 ... pedes post 54 Romaniae. Cf. 480 54 Persi (= Persae) sic 55 Colossensibus
 61 a correxi

aeclesiis et aliis paret edificiis, inhabitabant. Deinde venimus ad urbem Mirreorum, ubi sanctus Nicholaus archiepiscopatus culmen regebat; ibi est portus Adriatici Maris, sicut Constantinopolim est portus Egei Maris. Adorato sancto sepulchro
 65 honore sancti, plenis velis venimus ad insulam quae Xindacopo vocatur, quod latine interpretatur 'sexaginta remulae' ob fortitudinem maris, iuxta quam est portus qui Finica simul cum terra vocatur. Inde vero venimus post tres dies per latissimum
 70 pontus Adriatici Maris ad Paffum civitatem, quae pars est Cipros insulae, quo post ascensionem domini omnes apostoli conveniunt ibique de ordinandis rebus concilium tenuerunt et sanctum Barnaban apostolum ad predicandum ibi dimiserunt. Quo mortuo venit sanctus Petrus illuc Ioppen et divini verbi semina ibi,
 75 antequam ascenderet cathedram episcopalem Antiochiae, erogavit. De Cipros insula iter nostrum movendo, per septem dies marinis tempestatibus iactabamur antequam ad portum pervenire potuimus, et in tantum, ut una nocte vento contrario et valido coacti ad Cipros reverteremur, sed divina clementia, dum
 80 prope est omnibus eam invocantibus in veritate, non parva compunctione a nobis efflagitata ad optata iterum reversi: sed septem noctes tanta tempestate et periculo fuimus devicti, quod fere omni spe evadendi privati essemus. Mane quoque surgente sole apparuit etiam litus de portu Ioppen coram oculis nostris,
 85 et quia tanta turbatio periculi nos in desolatione contristavit, gaudium improvisum et desperatum laetitiam in nobis centuplicavit. Igitur post circulum tredecim ebdomadarum, sicut die dominico Monopolim navim ascendimus, vel in marinis fluctibus vel in <in>sulis in tuguriis et in mappaliis desertis, quia Greci non
 90 sunt hospitales, semper habitando, cum laetitia magna et gratiarum actione die dominico ad portum Ioppen appulimus. Modo vos obsecro, omnes amici mei dilectissimi, expansis in altum manibus plaudite, iubilare deo una mecum in voce exul-

65 Adorato ... sepulchro] Empty since 1087, when the saint's relics were taken to Bari; cf. BHL 6179 (and following). 69-70 latissimum pontus] Neuter, apparently by analogy with *pelagus* (4 and 554); cf. *mare*. 74 (= 570) Ioppen] 'From Joppe'. 78-79 *vento contrario et valido* = 600: Matth. 14, 24: *contrarius ventus*, and 14, 30: *ventum validum*. 79 *divina clementia* cf. 11. 79-80 Ps. 144, 18: *Prope est dominus omnibus invocantibus eum, omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate*. 83 *omni spe evadendi* (= 125) *privati* = 133. 84 (= 567) Ps. 78, 10: *coram oculis nostris*. 85 Baruch 4, 33: ... *sic contristabitur in sua desolatione*. 87-91 The thirteenth Sunday after 13 July 1102 (lines 9-10) falls on 12 October. 92-94 (cf. 581-582: *extensis in altum velis*) Eccli. 51, 26: *manus meas extendi in altum*. Ps. 46, 2: *plaudite manibus, iubilare deo in voce exultationis*.

83 *omni* *correxci coll. 125 et 133*: omnes 89 in <in>sulis *correxci*: in sulis (insulis *edd.*)

tationis, quia fecit mecum in omni itinere meo misericordiam
 95 qui potens est: sit nomen eius benedictum ex hoc nunc et
 usque in saeculum. Arrigite aures, karissimi, et audite miseri-
 cordiam quam divina clementia michi, licet ultimo servo suo,
 meisque exhibuit. Nam eadem die qua appulimus quidam dixit
 michi, ut credo deifice: "Domine, hodie litus ascende, ne forte,
 100 hac nocte vel diluculo tempestate superveniente, cras ascendere
 non possis". Quod dum audiui, statim captus desiderio ascen-
 dendi naviculam conduxì et cum omnibus meis ascendi. Me
 autem ascendente mare turbabatur, crevit commotio et facta
 est tempestas valida, sed ad litus divina gratia favente perveni
 105 illesus. Quid plura? Civitatem hospitandi causa intravimus et
 longo labore victi atque lassati refecti pausavimus. Mane vero,
 dum ab aeclesia venimus, sonitum maris audivimus, clamorem
 populi omnesque concurrentes atque mirantes de talibus prius
 inauditis, nos autem timentes currendo simul cum aliis venimus
 110 ad litus. Dum enim illuc pervenimus, vidimus tempestatem
 altitudinem superexcellere montium, corpora quidem innume-
 rabilia hominum utriusque sexus summersorum in litore miseri-
 rime iacentia aspeximus, naves minutatim fractas iuxta
 volutantes simul vidimus. Sed quis preter rugitum maris et
 115 fragorem navium quicquam audire potuit? Clamorem etenim
 populi sonitumque omnium tubarum excessit. Navis autem
 nostra, maxima atque fortissima, aliaeque multae frumento
 aliisque mercimoniis atque peregrinis venientibus atque redeun-
 tibus oneratae, anchoris funibusque adhuc in profundo utcunque
 120 detentae, quomodo fluctibus iactabantur, quomodo mali metu
 incidebantur, quomodo mercimonia abiciebantur, qualis oculus

94-95 Gen. 19, 19: *misericordiam tuam quam fecisti mecum.* Luc. 1, 49: *qui potens est.* 95-96 Ps. 112, 2: *sit nomen domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum* (nomen ... benedictum] Cf. 168). 96 Arrigite aures] Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer*, 1890/1965, p. 49, no. 215. 97 divina clementia (= 79) cf. 11. 103-104 Jonas 1, 4: *et facta est tempestas magna.* 104-105 *ad litus ... perveni illesus* = 14. *divina gratia favente* cf. 14: *deo favente.* 105 *Quid plura* = 134. 107-108 *clamorem populi* = 115-116. 111 Is. 37, 24: *altitudinem montium.* 111-112 *corpora ... innumerabilia* = 157. 112 *hominum utriusque sexus*] Cf. 145. 112-113 *miserrime ... minutatim* = 128. 115-116 *Clamorem ... populi* = 107-108. 116 *tubarum* (see the critical apparatus) makes excellent sense (Virgil, *Georg.* 4, 72: ... *sonitus imitata tubarum*), but so does the initial error (?) *turbarum*, cf. Is. 17, 12: *tumultus barbarum sicut sonitus aquarum multarum.* 120-121 The translation (p. 7) reads: "Oh, what fear of evil did they fall into", joining *mali* to *metu* (Wilkinson [see p. 13], p. 99: "Now was the hour of disaster"). But *mali* means the masts, and *metu* should be joined to *incidebantur*: 'how the masts were cut out of fear'!

intuentium tam durus atque lapideus a fletu se posset retinere? Non diu illud aspeximus antequam violentia undarum vel fluctuum anchorae lapserrunt, funes vero rumpebantur, naves autem, 125 severitate undarum laxatae, omni spe evadendi erepta nunc in altum elevatae, nunc in ima detrusae paulatim de profunditate tandem in arenam vel in scopulos proiciebantur; ibi vero de latere in latus miserrime collidebantur, ibi minutatim a tempestate dilacerabantur, neque ferocitas ventorum in profundum 130 reverti integras neque altitudo arenae sinebat eas ad litus pervenire illesas. Sed quid attinet dicere quam flebiliter nautae et peregrini quidam navibus, quidam vero malis, quidam antemnis, quidam autem transtris, omni spe evadendi privati, adheserunt? Quid plura dicam? Quidam stupore consumpti 135 ibidem dimersi sunt, quidam a lignis, propriae navi, quod incredibile multis videtur, adherentes, me vidente ibidem sunt obtruncati, quidam autem a tabulis navi evulsis iterum in profundum deportabantur, quidam autem natate scientes sponte se fluctibus commiserunt, et ita quamplures perierunt, perpauci 140 quippe, propria virtute confidentes, ad litus illesi pervenerunt. Igitur ex navibus triginta maximis, quarum quaedam 'dromundi', quaedam vero 'gulafri', quaedam autem 'catti' vulgariter vocantur, omnibus oneratis palmariis vel mercimoniis, antequam a litore discessissem vix septem illesae permanserunt, 145 homines vero diversi sexus plusquam mille die illa perierunt. Maiorem etenim miseriam una die nullus vidit oculus, sed ab his omnibus sui gratia eripuit me dominus, cui honor et gloria per infinita saecula. Amen.

Ascendimus quidem de Ioppen in civitatem Ierusalem, iter 150 duorum dierum per viam montuosam, asperrimam et periculosissimam, quia Sarraceni, insidias Christianis semper tendentes, absconditi latent in cavernis montium et in speluncis rupium die noctuque pervigiles, semper perscrutantes si quos

123 *violentia undarum* = 13. 124 Note the perfect form *lapserrunt* (for *lapsae sunt*). 125 *omni spe evadendi* = 83. 128 *miserrime ... minutatim* = 112-113.

130-131 *ad litus pervenire illesas* = 14. 133 *omni spe evadendi* (= 125) *privati* = 83. 134 *Quid plura* = 105. 140 Ps. 48, 7: *Qui confidunt in virtute sua. ad litus illesi pervenerunt* = 14. 143 (navibus) *oneratis palmariis* = 570. 145 homines ... diversi sexus] Cf. 112. 146-147 *ab ... sui gratia eripuit me dominus* = 582-583. 149 *Ascendere* is the usual (biblical) verb for going up to Jerusalem.

151-152 *Sarraceni, insidias ... tendentes* = 572-574.

135 *navi (... adherentes, cf. 132-134) correxi: navis* 135-136 *incredibile ex incredibile correctum* 141-142 *dromundi] dormundi: metathesim correxi coll. 576-577*

invadere possint vel penuria comitatus vel lassitudine post
 155 comitatum remissos: modo ubique in circumitu videntur, statim
 nusquam apparent. Quod quislibet illud iter agens videre potest,
 qualiter humana corpora et in via et iuxta viam innumerabilia
 a feris iacent omnino dilacerata. Miratur fortasse aliquis Chri-
 stianorum corpora ibi iacere inhumata, sed non est mirandum,
 160 quia ibi minime est humus et rupes non leviter se prebet fodere.
 Quod si ibi humus esset, quis adeo esset idiota ut comitatum
 suum relinqueret et quasi solus socio sepulchrum foderet?
 Siquis hoc faceret, sibimet potius quam socio sepulchrum pa-
 raret. In illa equidem via non solum pauperes et debiles, immo
 165 divites periclitantur et fortes: multi a Sarracenis perimuntur,
 plures vero calore et siti, multi penuria potus, plures vero nimis
 potando pereunt. Nos autem cum omni comitatu ad desiderata
 pervenimus illesi: benedictus dominus, qui non amovit depre-
 cationem meam et misericordiam suam a me. Amen.

170 Introitus civitatis Ierusalem est ad occidentem sub arce David
 regis, per portam quae vocatur Porta David. Primum eundum
 est ad aecclesiam Sancti Sepulchri, quae 'Martyrium' vocatur,
 non solum pro conditione platearum, sed quia celebrior est
 omnibus aliis aecclesiis, et hoc digne et iuste, quia omnia quae
 175 a sanctis prophetis in toto mundo de Salvatore nostro Iesu
 Christo erant predicta vel prescripta, ibi sunt omnia veraciter
 consummata. Ipsam aecclesiam, inventa cruce dominica,
 construxit Maximus archiepiscopus favente imperatore Constan-
 tino matreque sua Helena regie atque magnifice. In medio autem
 180 istius aecclesiae est dominicum sepulchrum, muro fortissimo
 circumcinctum et opertum, ne dum pluit pluvia cadere possit
 supra sanctum sepulchrum, quia aecclesia desuper patet dis-
 cooperta. Ista aecclesia sita est in declivo Montis Syon, sicut
 civitas, sed postquam Romani principes Titus et Vespasianus
 185 in ultione domini totam civitatem Ierusalem funditus destruxis-
 sent ut prophetatio dominica impleretur, quam, dum appropin-
 quaret dominus Ierusalem, videns civitatem, flens super illam
 dixit: *quia si cognovisses et tu, quia venient dies in te et circun-*
dabunt te inimici tui vallo et coangustabunt te undique et ad

156 nusquam apparent = 455. 157 corpora ... innumerabilia = 111-112. 165
 multi ... perimuntur] Cf. 421-422. 167-168 ... pervenimus illesi cf. 14. 168
 benedictus dominus] Cf. 95-96. 168-169 2 Macc. 6, 16: nunquam ... a nobis
 misericordiam suam amovet. 174 digne et iuste see 337. 174-176 Cf. 2 Petri 3,
 2: ut memores sitis eorum, quae praedixi, verborum a sanctis prophetis. 180-181 muro
 fortissimo circumcinctum] Cf. 482. 186-191 Luc. 19, 41-44.

180 ante istius rasura 1-2 litt. 188 cognovisses e cognovisset correctum

190 *terram prosternent te et filios tuos qui in te sunt et non relinquent*
in te lapidem super lapidem, et caetera. Nos scimus quod extra
 portam passus est dominus, sed Adrianus imperator, qui Helias
 vocabatur, reedificavit civitatem Ierusalem et templum domini
 et adauxit civitatem usque ad Turrem David, quae prius mul-
 195 tum remota erat a civitate, sicut quislibet a Monte Oliveti
 videre potest ubi ultimi occidentales muri civitatis prius fuerunt
 et quantum postea adaucta est. Imperator vero vocavit civita-
 tem nomine suo Helyam, quod 'domus dei' interpretatur. Qui-
 dam autem dicunt civitatem fuisse a Iustiniano imperatore
 200 restauratam et templum domini similiter, sicut est adhuc, sed
 illud dicunt secundum opinionem et non secundum veritatem.
 Assirii enim, quorum patres coloni erant illius patriae a prima
 persecutione, dicunt civitatem septies esse captam et destruc-
 tam post domini passionem simul cum omnibus aecclesiis, sed
 205 non omnino precipitatam.

In atrio aecclesiae Dominici Sepulchri loca visuntur sanctis-
 sima, scilicet carcer, ubi dominus noster Iesus Christus post
 traditionem incarcerationis fuit testantibus Assiriis, deinde paulo
 superius locus apparet ubi sancta crux cum aliis crucibus
 210 inventa est, ubi postea in honore reginae Helenae magna
 constructa fuit aecclesia, sed postmodum a paganis funditus est
 detrusa, inferius vero, non longe a carcere, columpna marmorea
 conspicitur, ad quam Iesus Christus dominus noster in pretorio
 ligatus flagris affligebatur durissimis. Iuxta est locus ubi do-
 215 minus noster a militibus exuebatur ab indumentis, deinde est
 locus ubi induebatur veste purpurea a militibus et coronabatur
 spinea corona et diviserunt vestimenta sua sortem mittentes.
 Postea ascenditur in montem Calvarium, ubi Abraham patriar-
 cha facto altari prius filium suum iubente deo sibi immolare
 220 voluit; ibidem postea filius dei, quem ipse prefiguravit, pro
 redemptione mundi deo patri immolatus est hostia, scopulus
 autem eiusdem montis, passionis dominicae testis, iuxta fossam,
 in qua dominica crux fuit affixa, multum scissus, quia sine
 scissura necem fabricatoris sufferre nequivit, sicut in passione

191 Ioh. 9, 24 and 29: *Nos scimus quia ...* 191-192 Hebr. 13, 12: *extra*
portam passus est. 202 (and *passim*) *Assirii* (*Assyrii*): the indigenous Christians.

202-203 Act. 8, 1: *Facta est autem in illa die persecutio magna in ecclesia quae erat*
Ierosolymis et dispersi sunt per regiones Iudaeae et Samariae praeter apostolos. 208 *testantibus*
Assiriis (= 322-323 and 374-375) cf. 491 and 608 (= 622). 217 Matth. 27,
 35: *diviserunt vestimenta eius sortem mittentes.* 218 Usually *Calvariae*, but cf. 501
 and 585. 218-220 Gen. 22, 2-13.

- 225 legitur: *et petrae scissae sunt*. Subtus est locus qui Golgotha vocatur, ubi Adam a torrente dominici cruoris super eum delapso dicitur esse a mortuis resuscitatus, sicut in domini passione legitur: *et multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant surrexerunt*. Sed in Sententiis beati Augustini legitur eum sepultum fuisse
- 230 in Hebron, ubi etiam postmodum tres patriarchae sepulti sunt cum uxoribus suis: Abraham cum Sara, Isaac cum Rebecca, Iacob cum Lia, et ossa Ioseph, quae filii Israel asportaverunt secum de Egypto. Iuxta locum Calvariae est aecclesia Sanctae Mariae in loco ubi corpus dominicum, avulsum a cruce, ante-
- 235 quam sepeliretur fuit aromatizatum et lintheo sive sudario involutum. Ad caput autem aecclesiae Sancti Sepulchri in muro forinsecus, non longe a loco Calvariae, est locus qui 'Compas' vocatur, ubi ipse dominus noster Iesus Christus medium mundi propria manu esse signavit atque mensuravit, psalmista tes-
- 240 tante: *deus autem rex noster ante saecula operatus est salutem in medio terrae*; sed quidam in illo loco dominum Iesum Christum dicunt apparuisse primo Mariae Magdalenae, dum ipsa flendo eum quaesivit et putavit eum hortolanum fuisse, sicut evangelista narrat. Ista oratoria sanctissima continentur in atrio
- 245 Dominici Sepulchri ad orientalem plagam. In lateribus vero ipsius aecclesiae duae capellae sibi adherent preclarissimae hinc inde, sanctae Mariae scilicet sanctique Iohannis in honore, sicut ipsi participes dominicae passionis sibi in lateribus constiterunt hinc inde. In muro autem occidentali ipsius capellae Sanctae
- 250 Mariae conspicitur imago ipsius dei genitricis perpicta exterior, quae Mariam Egyptiacam, olim toto corde compunctam atque ipsius dei genitricis iuvamen efflagitantem in figura ipsius, cuius pictura erat, per Spiritum sanctum loquendo mirifice consolabatur, sicut in Vita ipsius legitur. Ex altera vero parte Sancti

225 (cf. 228) Matth. 27, 51. 228 (cf. 225) Matth. 27, 52. 229-230 (cf. 476-477) Not in Augustine nor in Prosper's *Liber Sententiarum* (CC 68A) but in the *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum* (= "De distantis locorum"), Migne, PL 23, 906C-907A: *Arbee* (= Kiriath Arbe) *id est quatuor, eo quod ibi tres patriarchae Abraham, Isaac et Iacob sepulti sunt et Adam maximus, ut in Iesu libro scriptum est* (Iosue 14, 15), *licet eum quidam positum in loco Calvariae suspicentur*. Haec est autem eadem Chebron, olim metropolis Philistinorum et habitaculum gigantum regnumque postea David, in tribu Iuda, civitas sacerdotalis et fugitivorum (cf. Fretellus c. 7). 232-233 Ex. 13, 19 (Gen. 50, 24). 240-241 Ps. 73, 12. 244 narrat] Ioh. 20, 15. 247-249 Cf. Ioh. 19, 25-27. 251 Ps. 108, 16: *compunctum corde*; Act. 2, 37: *compuncti sunt corde*. 254 in Vita ipsius] Migne, PL 73, 682A-683B (= BHL 5415), cf. PL 129, 314C-315D (= BHL 5416).

225 petrae e patrae correctum 226-227 delapso] o e correctura 250 perpicta num recte? per(pulchre) picta coniecerim coll. 531

- 255 Iohannis aecclesiae est monasterium Sanctae Trinitatis pulcherrimum, in quo est locus baptisterii; cui adheret capella Sancti Iacobi apostoli, qui primam cathedram pontificalem Ierosolimis optinuit, ita compositae et ordinatae omnes, ut quilibet in ultima stans aecclesia omnes quinque aecclesias perspicere
- 260 potest clarissime per ostium ad ostium. Extra portam aecclesiae Sancti Sepulchri ad meridiem est aecclesia Sanctae Mariae, quae 'Latina' vocatur eo quod latine ibi domino a monachis semper ministrabatur, et Assirii dicunt ipsam beatam dei genitricem in crucifixione filii sui domini nostri stare in eodem loco, ubi altare
- 265 est eiusdem aecclesiae. Cui aecclesiae alia adheret aecclesia Sanctae Mariae, quae vocatur 'Parva', ubi monachae conversantur, sibi filioque suo servientes devotissime. Iuxta quam est hospitale, ubi monasterium habetur preclarum in honore sancti Iohannis Baptistae dedicatum.
- 270 Descenditur autem de Sepulchro Domini quantum arcusballista bis iactare potest ad Templum Domini, quod est ad orientalem plagam Sancti Sepulchri, cuius atrium magnae longitudinis est et latitudinis, plurimas habens portas, sed tamen principalis porta, quae est ante faciem Templi, vocatur 'Speciosa' pro
- 275 ingenio operis et varietate colorum, ubi Petrus curavit claudum dum ipse et Iohannes ascenderunt in templum ad horam orationis nonam, sicut in Actibus apostolorum legitur. Locus ubi Salomon templum domini edificavit antiquitus vocabatur Bethel, quo precipiente domino Iacob perrexerat, et ibi habitavit viditque ibidem scalam, cuius summitas caelos tangebatur, et vidit angelos ascendentes et descendentes et dixit: *vere locus iste sanctus est*, sicut in Genesi legitur. Ibidem erexit lapidem in titulum et construxit altare, fundens oleum desuper; ibidem postmodum nutu divino fecit Salomon templum domino magnifici incomparabilisque operis et illud omni ornamento mirabiliter decoravit, sicut in libro Regum legitur: omnes montes in circuitu eius altitudine detrussit omniaque menia vel aedificia excessit claritate et gloria. In cuius Templi medietate rupes
- 285 conspicitur alta et magna et subtus concavata, in qua erant sancta sanctorum: ibi imposuit Salomon archam federis, habens manna et virgam Aaron, quae ibidem floruit et fronduit et amigdalum protulit, et duas tabulas testamenti. Ibi dominus

258 *compositae ... ordinatae* sc. *omnes quinque aecclesias* (259). 259 *aecclesia*: the Holy Sepulchre. 270-271 Cf. 355-356.405-406.615-616. 275-277 Act. 3, 1-8. 279-283 Gen. 28, 11-19. 283-286 3 Reg. 6 and 7. 290-292 Hebr. 9, 4 (Num. 17, 8).

262 *latine* 279 *ibi ex ubi* (cf. 325) *correctum*

noster Iesus Christus convitiis Iudeorum lassatus requiescere consuevit, ibi est locus confessionis, ubi discipuli sui sibi confessi
 295 sunt, ibi angelus Gabriel apparuit Zachariae sacerdoti, dicens: *accipe puerum in senectute tua*, ibidem Zacharias filius Barachiae occisus est inter templum et altare, ibi circumcisisus est puer Iesus die octavo et vocabatur Iesus, quod 'salvator' interpretatur, illic oblatus est dominus Iesus a parentibus cum matre virgine
 300 MARIA in die purificationis suae et a sene Symeone receptus, ibi etiam, cum factus esset Iesus annorum duodecim, inventus est sedens in medio doctorum, *audientem illos et interrogantem* sicut in evangelio legitur, inde postmodum eiecit boves et oves et columbas, dicens: *domus mea domus orationis vocabitur*, ibi dixit
 305 Iudeis: *solvite templum hoc et in triduo illud excitabo*, ibi adhuc apparent in rupe vestigia domini dum ipse abscondit se et exivit de templo, sicut in evangelio legitur, ne Iudei in illum lapides iacerent quos tulerunt, illuc fuit mulier, in adulterio deprehensa, coram Iesu adducta a Iudeis ut invenirent unde accusarent
 310 illum. Ibi est porta civitatis in orientali parte Templi, quae vocatur Aurea, ubi Ioachim, pater beatæ Mariae, iubente angelo domini occurrit uxori suae ANNAE; per eandem portam dominus Iesus, veniens a Bethania die Palmarum, sedens in asyno intravit civitatem Ierusalem cantantibus pueris *osanna filio David*. Per
 315 ipsam portam intravit Heraclius imperator, victor rediens a Persia cum dominica cruce, sed prius lapides cadentes clause- runt se invicem et facta est porta ut maceries integra, donec angelico monitu humiliatus de equo descendit et sic introitus (se) sibi patefecit. In atrio Templi Domini ad meridiem est
 320 Templum Salomonis mirae magnitudinis, ad cuius orientalem plagam est oraculum quoddam, habens cunabulum Christi Iesu et balneum ipsius et lectum beatæ matris eius testantibus Assyriis.

De Templo Domini itur ad aecclesiam Sanctæ ANNAE matris
 325 beatæ Mariae, ad partem aquilonis, ubi ipsa cum viro suo habitavit; ibi etiam filiam suam peperit dilectissimam Mariam salvatricem omnium fidelium. Ibi est prope superprobatica Pis- cina, quae cognominatur hebraice Bethsayda, quinque porticus

294-295 Cf. Matth. 16, 15-20; Marc. 8, 29-30; Luc. 9, 20-21. 296 Cf. Luc. 1, 13 (36). 296-297 Matth. 23, 35. 297-298 Luc. 2, 21. 299-300 Luc. 2, 27-28. 300-303 Luc. 2, 42-46 (*inventus est sedens ... audientem ... interrogantem*: the biblical text reads: *invenerunt illum ... sedentem* etc.). 304 Matth. 21, 13. 305 Ioh. 2, 19. 307 legitur] Ioh. 8, 59. 308-310 Ioh. 8, 3-6. 314 Matth. 21, 9. 322-323 *testantibus Assyriis* = 208. 327-329 Ioh. 5, 2.

297 interplum *sed tem ss.* est *bis, alt. deletum* 300 Symone *sed e ss.* 319
 se *correxij, cf. 547-548* 328 (= 374) *hebraice*

habens, unde in evangelio legitur; paulo superius est locus ubi
 330 mulier sanata est a domino, tangendo fimbriam vestimenti eius
 dum ipse a turbis in platea comprimeretur, quae patiebatur
 fluxum sanguinis per annos duodecim et a medicis non potuit
 curari.

A Sancta Anna pergitur per portam, quae ducit ad Vallem
 335 Iosaphath, ad aecclesiam Sanctae Mariae in valle eadem, ubi ab
 apostolis ipsa post obitum honorifice tradebatur sepulturae,
 cuius sepulchrum a fidelibus, sicut dignum et iustum est, maximo
 veneratur honore. Ibi monachi domino nostro Iesu Christo ma-
 trique suae serviunt die noctuque ibique est torrens Cedron, ibi
 340 est et Gethsemani, quo dominus venit cum discipulis ante horam
 traditionis a Monte Syon trans torrentem Cedron; ibi est ora-
 culum quoddam, ubi ipse dimisit Petrum et Iacobum et Iohan-
 nem, dicens: *sustinete hic et vigilate mecum*. Et progressus
 procidit in faciem suam et oravit, et venit ad discipulos suos
 345 et invenit eos dormientes: ibi adhuc loca apparent ubi discipuli
 obdormierunt unusquisque per se. Gethsemani est in radice
 Montis Oliveti et torrens Cedron inferius inter Montem Syon
 et Montem Oliveti, acsi sit divisio montium, planities autem
 inter duos montes vocatur Vallis Iosaphath. Paulo superius in
 350 Monte Oliveti est oraculum in loco ubi dominus oravit, sicut
 legitur in passione: *et ipse avulsus est ab eis quantum iactus est*
lapidis. Et factus in agonia prolixius orabat et factus est sudor
eius sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram. Deinde Achel-
 demach ager, precio domini emptus, est similiter in radice
 355 Montis Oliveti iuxta vallem, a Gethsemani quantum arcusba-
 lista ter vel quater proicere potest ad meridiem, ubi innume-
 rabilia visuntur monumenta. Ille ager est iuxta sepulchra
 sanctorum patrum iusti Symeonis et Ioseph nutritoris domini:
 ista duo sepulchra, in modum turrium antiquitus facta, a radice
 360 ipsius montis sunt incisa. Postea descenditur iuxta Acheldemach
 ad fontem qui Natatoria Syloe vocatur, ubi precipiente domino
 cecus natus oculos lavit, linitis prius oculis a domino luto ex
 sputo ipsius facto. Ascenditur autem de aecclesia Sanctae Mariae
 supramemorata per arduam viam fere ad verticem summum
 365 Montis Oliveti, versus orientem, ad locum ubi dominus noster

329-333 Matth. 9, 20-21. 337 *dignum et iustum* (cf. 174): Praefatio missae.
 343-344 Matth. 26, 38-39. 344-345 *Ibid.* 40. 351-352 (cf. 373.573)
 Luc. 22, 41. 352-353 *Ibid.* 43-44. 354 Act. 1, 18-19. 355-356 Cf. 270-
 271. 359 *antiquitus facta* = 481-482 and 515. 361-363 Ioh. 9, 1-7.

videntibus discipulis in caelum ascendit. Idem locus est turrículo
 circumdatus et honorifice preparatus, altari deintus super locum
 facto et etiam muro undique circumcinctus. In loco quidem ubi
 apostoli steterunt cum beata Maria matre ipsius, ascensionem
 370 ipsius admirantes, est altare aecclesiae Sanctae MARIAE; ibidem
 duo viri astiterunt iuxta illos in vestibis albis, dicentes: *virī*
Galilei, quid statis aspicientes in caelum? et caetera. Ibi prope
 quantum est iactus lapidis dominus noster scripsit orationem
 dominicam propriis digitis in marmore hebraice, Assyriis tes-
 375 tantibus; illic fuit etiam edificata perpulchra aecclesia, sed
 postea a paganis omnino est destructa, sicut omnes aecclesiae
 sunt extra murum.

Aecclesia Spiritus Sancti in Monte Syon extra murum est, ad
 austrum quantum potest proici sagitta: ibidem apostoli rece-
 380 perunt promissum patris, scilicet spiritum paraclytum, in die
 Pentecostes, ibidem fecerunt symbolum. In aecclesia illa est
 capella quaedam in loco ubi beata MARIA obiit, ex altera parte
 aecclesiae est capella in loco ubi dominus noster Iesus Christus
 post resurrectionem inprimis apostolis apparuit, et vocatur
 385 'Galilea', sicut ipse dixit ad apostolos: *postquam resurrexero*
precedam vos in Galileam: ille locus vocabatur 'Galilea' propter
 apostolos illic sepius commorantes, qui *Galilei* vocabantur. –
 Magna civitas Galilea est iuxta montem Thabor, a Ierusalem
 iter trium dierum. Ex altera parte montis Thabor est civitas
 390 quae dicitur Tyberiadis, postea Capharnaum et Nazareth iuxta
 Mare Galileae et Mare Tyberiadis, quo Petrus et alii apostoli
 post resurrectionem domini ad piscationem redierunt, ubi eis
 dominus in mari postea se manifestavit. Iuxta Tyberiadem
 civitatem est campus, ubi dominus Iesus quinque panes et duos
 395 pisces benedixit et postea quatuor milia hominum inde satu-
 ravit, sicut in evangelio legitur. – Sed ad inceptum revertar.

In Galilea Montis Syon, ubi apostoli erant absconsi in conclavi
 propter metum Iudeorum, clausis ianuis stetit Iesus in medio
 eorum, dicens: *pax vobis*, et iterum ostendit se ibi dum Thomas

366 Act. 1, 9: *videntibus illis*. 371-372 Act. 1, 11. 373 = 351-352.
 374-375 *Assyriis testantibus* = 208. 376 *a paganis omnino ... destructa* = 407-
 408, cf. 410-411. 376-377 Cf. 426-428. 385-386 Matth. 26, 32 = Marc.
 14, 28. 392-393 Ioh. 21. 394-396 (= 527-529) Matth. 14, 17-21; Marc.
 6, 38-44; Luc. 9, 13-14 and Ioh. 6, 8-10. The number of 4000 in line 395 is
 taken from Matth. 15, (34-)38. 397 *Galilea Montis Syon* = 385. 398
 Ioh. 7, 13 (19, 38, 20, 19): *propter metum Iudaeorum*. 399 Ioh. 20, 19. 399-
 400 Ioh. 20, 24-28.

369-370 ascensionem ipsius in *marginē* 374 (= 328) *hebraicę* 384 in
 primis 386 *post precedam erasa est una littera*

- 400 misit digitum in latus suum et in locum clavorum, ibi cenavit cum discipulis ante passionem et lavit pedes eorum, illic est adhuc tabula marmorea supra quam cenavit, ibi reliquiae sancti Stephani, Nichodemi, Gamalielis et Abibonis a sancto Iohanne patriarcha honorifice post inventionem reconditae sunt.
- 405 Lapidatio sancti Stephani fuit extra murum, quantum arcus-balista bis vel ter iactare potest, ubi aecclesia pulcherrima construebatur a parte aquilonis: illa aecclesia omnino est a paganis destructa. Similiter aecclesia Sanctae Crucis distat quasi unum miliare a Ierusalem in parte occidentali, in loco ubi sancta
- 410 crux excidebatur, honestissima et speciosissima sed a paganis in desolationem posita, tamen non multum destructa preter <in> aedificiis in circumitu et cellulis. Sub muro civitatis forinsecus in declivo Montis Syon est aecclesia Sancti Petri quae 'Gallicantus' vocatur, ubi ipse in cripta profundissima, sicut ibi
- 415 videri potest, post negationem domini se abscondit ibique reatum suum amarissime deflevit. In occidentali parte aecclesiae Sanctae Crucis quasi trium miliarium est monasterium pulcherrimum et maximum in honore sancti Sabae, qui fuit unus ex septuaginta duobus discipulis domini nostri Iesu Christi; ibi
- 420 iam monachi Greci plusquam trecenti cenobialiter viventes deo sanctoque servierunt, quorum fratrum maxima pars a Sarracenis perempta, quidam vero infra urbis muros iuxta Turrem David in alio monasterio eiusdem sancti devote famulantur. Aliud vero monasterium omnino in desolationem est dimissum.
- 425 Bethleem civitas in Iudea sex milibus distat a Ierosolimis in australem plagam. Ibi nichil a Sarracenis est remissum habitabile, sed omnia devastata sicut in aliis omnibus sanctis locis extra murum civitatis Ierusalem, preter monasterium Beatae Virginis Mariae matris domini nostri, quod est magnum atque
- 430 preclarum. In eadem aecclesia est quaedam cripta sub choro, quasi in medio, in qua conspicitur ipse locus nativitatis dominicae quasi ad levam; ad dexteram vero, paulo inferius, iuxta locum nativitatis domini est presepe ubi bos et asynus stabant imposito dominico infante coram eis in presepio. Lapis autem,

400-401 Ioh. 13, 1-10. 405 extra murum] Act. 7, 58-59. 405-406 = 270-271. 407-408 omnino ... a paganis destructa = 376. 410-411 Cf. 407-408 (376) (in desolationem posita = 424). 415-416 Matth. 26, 75; Luc. 22, 62. 417-418 pulcherrimum et maximum] Cf. 480. 419 Luc. 10, 1: Post haec autem designavit dominus et alios septuaginta duos ... 421-422 maxima pars ... perempta] Cf. 165. 424 in desolationem ... dimissum = 411. est dimissum Cf. 534. 426-428 Cf. 376-377. 431 quasi in medio = 535.

410 speciosissima e sepe(?)ciosissima correctum 412 in correxi 416 amarissimae 425 Bethleem

435 unde caput Salvatoris nostri in sepulchro supportabatur, a
 sancto Ieronimo presbitero illuc Ierosolimis delatus in presepio
 sepius videri potest. Ipse vero sanctus Ieronimus sub altare
 aquilonis in eadem aecclesia requiescit, Innocentes quidem, qui
 infantes pro Christo infante ibidem ab Herode trucidati sunt,
 440 in australi parte aecclesiae sub altare requiescunt, duae etiam
 sacratissimae mulieres Paula et filia eius Eustochium virgo
 similiter ibi requiescunt. Ibi est mensa marmorea, supra quam
 comedit beata virgo Maria cum tribus magis, muneribus suis
 oblatis, ibi est cisterna in aecclesia iuxta criptam dominicae
 445 nativitatis, in quam stella dicitur esse dilapsa, ibi etiam dicitur
 esse balneatorium beatae virginis Mariae.

Bethania vero, ubi Lazarus a domino resuscitatus est a mor-
 tuis, distat a civitate quasi per duo miliaria ad orientem in alio
 latere Montis Oliveti. Ibi est aecclesia Sancti Lazari, in qua
 450 conspicitur sepulchrum ipsius et multorum episcoporum Iero-
 solimitanorum. Sub altare est locus ubi Maria Magdalena lavit
 pedes domini Iesu lacrimis et crinibus suis tersit et osculabatur
 pedes eius et unguento unguebat. Bethphage, ubi dominus pre-
 misit discipulos ad civitatem, est in Monte Oliveti, sed fere
 455 nusquam apparet. Iericho, ubi est Ortus Abrahae, distat ab
 Ierusalem decem leugas, terra arborum fertilissima et ad omnia
 genera palmarum et ad omnes fruges. Ibi est fons Helysei
 prophetae, cuius aqua, cum esset amarissima ad potandum,
 sterilissima ad generandum, eo benedicente et salem in eam
 460 mittente in dulcedinem versa est. Ibi ex omnibus partibus
 planicies patet pulcherrima. Inde vero ascenditur ad montem
 excelsum, ad locum ubi dominus ieiunavit XL dies et ubi postea
 temptabatur a Sathana, quasi trium miliarium. Iordanis fluvius
 est ab Iericho quatuor leugas ad orientem. Ex ista parte Iordanis
 465 est regio quae vocatur Iudea usque ad Mare Adriaticum, ad
 portum scilicet qui Ioppen vocatur. Ex altera vero parte Ior-
 danis est Arabia inimicissima Christianis et infestissima omni-
 bus deum colentibus, in qua est mons unde Helyas in caelum

437 sepius] I fail to see the meaning of this restriction. 451-453 Matth.
 26, 6-7; Marc. 14, 3. 453-454 Matth. 26, 17-18; Marc. 14, 12-13; Luc. 22,
 7-10. 455 nusquam apparet = 156. 457-460 4 Reg. 2, 19-22 (Ex. 15, 25:
 [lignum] quod cum misisset in aquas, in dulcedinem versae sunt). 462-463 Matth. 4,
 1-2. 465 Mare Adriaticum = 554.

435 supportabatur conieci: supponebatur, sed d erasum et eb attriore atramento in
 rasura 451 Magdalena correxi coll. 242: Magdalene 456 (fertilissim)a e
 correctura 463 (et 542.545) Iordanis] Iordanen, quem (ex abbreviatura ortum?)
 errorem correxi 467-468 omnibus ex omniabus(?) correctum

- igneo curru est raptus, et a Iordane sunt decem et octo dietae
 470 ad montem Synay, ubi dominus Moysi in igne ardentis rubi
 apparuit et ubi postea Moyses iubente domino ascendit et fuit
 ibi ieiunans XL diebus et totidem noctibus sicque accepit a
 domino duas tabulas lapideas digito dei scriptas ad docendos
 filios Israel legem ac mandata quae in ipsis tabulis continebantur.
 475 Hebron, ubi sancti patriarchae Abraham, Ysaac et Iacob sin-
 guli cum uxoribus requiescunt et Adam protoplastus similiter
 sepultus requiescit, distat a Bethleem quattuor leugae ad me-
 ridiem, ubi David rex septem annis regnavit antequam a familia
 regis Saulis urbem Ierusalem adeptus est. Civitas vero Hebron
 480 maxima et pulcherrima a Sarracenis iam est devastata, in cuius
 orientali parte monumenta sanctorum patriarcharum antiquitus
 facta castello fortissimo circumcinguntur, unumquodque ex tri-
 bus monumentis ad instar magnae aeccliesiae, sarcofagis binis
 deintus honorifice positis, scilicet viri et mulieris; adhuc autem
 485 usque in presens odor balsami et aromatum preciosissimorum,
 unde sancta corpora erant peruncta, suavissime de sepulchris
 fragrans nares implet assistentium. Ossa vero Ioseph, quae filii
 Israel, sicut adiuravit eos, secum ex Egypto detulerant, quasi
 in extremis partibus castelli humiliter ceteris sunt tumulata.
 490 Ilex vero, sub cuius tegmine Abraham stans tres pueros vidit
 per viam descendentes, adhuc viret testantibus loci incolis et
 frondet, non longe remota a castello prescripto.
 NAZARETH civitas Galileae, ubi salutationem nativitatis do-
 minicae beata virgo Maria ab angelo suscepit, distat ab Ieru-
 495 salem quasi quattuor dietas; cuius iter est per Sichem civitatem
 Samariae, quae nunc Neapolis vocatur, ubi sanctus Iohannes
 Baptista sententiam decollationis ab Herode accepit. Ibi est
 Fons Iacob etiam, unde Iesus, ex itinere fatigatus, siciens et
 supra eundem fontem sedens, dignatus est aquam petere a
 500 Samaritana muliere quae venit illuc haurire, sicut in evangelio
 legitur. De Sichem iter est ad Cesaream Palestinam, a Caesarea

469 igneo curru] 4 Reg. 2, 11. 470 in igne ardentis rubi] Ex. 3, 2.
 471-472 Ex. 24, 18 and 34, 28. 473 digito dei scriptas] Ex. 31, 18 and
 Deut. 9, 10. 476-477 Adam Cf. 229-230. 478 2 Reg. 5, 5: septem annis et
 sex mensibus. 480 maxima et pulcherrima] Cf. 417-418. 481-482 antiquitus
 facta = 359. 482 castello fortissimo circumcinguntur] Cf. 180-181. 485
 odor balsami] Cf. Eccli. 24, 20 and 21. 487 fraglare or flagrare not infrequent
 for fragrare. 487-488 Gen. 50, 24; Ex. 13, 19. 490-491 Gen. 18, 1-4.
 491 testantibus loci incolis] Cf. 208 (and note). 493-494 Luc. 1, 26-33.
 500-501 in evangelio legitur: Ioh. 4, 6-7. 501 (= 559) Cesaream Palestinam (cf.
 585): usually *Caesarea Palaestinae*. Cf. also 218.

480 pulcherrima (cf. 53) a Sarracenis post 479 Hebron. Cf. 504 486 per/
 //uncta suavissime 500 mulier corr. m. al.

ad Cayphas, a Caypha vero ad Accaron. De Acharonte distat Nazareth quasi octo miliaria ad orientem. Civitas autem Nazaret omnino a Sarracenis devastata atque precipitata, sed tamen
 505 locum dominicae annuntiationis monasterium demonstrat valde preclarum. Fons autem iuxta civitatem ebullit limpidissimus, marmoreis columpnis et tabulis adhuc ut erat circumquaque munitus, unde puer Iesus simul cum aliis pueris ad matris ministerium aquam sepius hausit. A Nazareth distat mons
 510 Thabor, in quo monte dominus ascendens coram Petro et Iohanne et Iacobo se transfiguravit, quasi quattuor miliaria ad orientem, herbosus valde et floridus, qui in medietate Galileae campi planissimi et viridissimi ita se extollit, ut omnes montes quamvis alonge in circuitu eius altitudine superemineat. Tria
 515 vero monasteria in cacumine eius antiquitus constructa adhuc permanent, unum in honore domini nostri Iesu Christi, aliud autem in honore Moysi, tertium autem Helyae paulo remotius, secundum quod Petrus dixit: *domine, bonum est nos hic esse: si vis, faciamus hic tria tabernacula, tibi unum, Moysi unum et*
 520 *Helyae unum.* De monte Thabor Mare Galileae vel Tyberiadis quasi sex miliaris distat inter orientem et aquilonem, habens in longitudine decem miliaria, in latitudine vero quinque. Civitas autem Tyberias sita est supra litus maris in una parte, in altera vero parte Corozaim et Bethsaida civitas Andreae et Petri. A
 525 Tyberiae civitate est Genesareth castrum quasi quattuor miliaris ad aquilonem, ubi dominus piscantibus discipulis aderat, sicut evangelium testatur. A Genesareth distat mons, in quo dominus Iesus saturavit quinque milia hominum ex quinque panibus et duobus piscibus, quasi duobus miliaris ad orientem,
 530 qui mons ab incolis 'Tabula domini' vocatur, ad cuius montis radicem est aecclesia Sancti Petri perpulchra quamvis deserta. A Nazareth distat Chana Galileae, ubi dominus aquam in vinum convertit in nuptiis, quasi sex miliaris ad aquilonem in monte sita: ibi nichil est remissum preter monasterium quod dicitur
 535 Architriclini. Inter Nazareth et Galileam quasi in medio est quoddam castrum quod Roma vocatur, ubi omnes Tyberiadem

506 *Fons ... ebullit* = Th 1519-1520. 509-511 See 518-520. 515 *antiquitus constructa* = 359. 518-520 Matth. 17, 4. 524 Ioh. 1, 44. 526-527 Ioh. 21, 3-11. 527-529 = 394-396. 532-533 Ioh. 2, 1-10. 534 *est remissum* Cf. 424. 535 Architriclini] Ioh. 2, 8-9 (see the note on 532-533). *quasi in medio* = 431.

503-504 miliaria ad orientem et Civitas autem Nazaret om in marginibus
 520 tabor cum signo aspirationis et o e correctura 533 et 539 ad quilonem
 534 monsterium corr. m. al.

ab Acharonte pergentes hospitantur, habentes Nazareth in dextris, Galileam autem in sinistris.

De Tyberiade est mons Lybani per dietam ad aquilonem, ex
 540 cuius radice fluvius Iordanis binis ebullit fontibus, quorum unus
 Ior, alter vero Dan vocatur, quorum rivuli in unum congressi
 fluvius factus est rapidissimus et Iordanis vocatur et oritur
 iuxta Cesaream civitatem Philippi tetrarchae, in cuius partes
 veniens Iesus interrogavit discipulos suos, dicens: *quem dicunt*
 545 *homines esse filium hominis?* sicut evangelium narrat. Iordanis
 flumen de ortu suo cursu rapidissimo Mare Galileae ex uno
 latere incidit, ex altero vero latere alveum sibi magno impetu
 patefacit et sic post octo dietas decurrens Mare Mortuum incidit.
 Est autem aqua Iordanis omnibus aquis albior et lacti similior
 550 et ideo in Mari Mortuo longo tramite prospicitur.

Perscrutatis etenim singulis Ierosolimitanae urbis finiumque
 suarum sanctuariis pro posse nostro atque adoratis, die Pente-
 costes repatriandi causa Ioppen navim ascendimus, sed Sarra-
 cenorum metu per altum pelagus Adriatici Maris, ut venimus,
 555 classem illorum metuentes tendere ausi non sumus, et ideo
 civitates maritimas pertranseuntes, quarum quasdam Franci
 optinent, quasdam vero Sarraceni adhuc possident, nomina
 quarum sunt haec: proxima Ioppen vocatur Arsuph vulgariter
 sed latine Azotum, deinde est Cesarea Palestina, postea Cay-
 560 phas: has civitates Baldwinus flos regum possidet. Postea vero
 est Acras civitas fortissima, quae Accaron vocatur, deinde Sur
 et Saegete, quae sunt Tyrus et Sydon, et postea Iubelet, deinde
 Baruth et sic Tartusa, quam dux Remundus possidet, postea
 Gibel, ubi sunt montes Gelboe, deinde Tripolis et Lice: has
 565 civitates pertransivimus. Sed quarta feria Pentecostes nobis
 inter Cayphas et Accaron velificantibus, ecce viginti sex naves
 Sarracenorum coram oculis nostris, amiraldi videlicet urbium
 Tyri et Sydonis, Babiloniam cum exercitu tendentes in adiu-
 torium Chaldeis ad debellandum regem Ierosolimorum. Naves

537-538 Cf. 612-613. 541 rivuli ... congressi: Nom. absolutus. 542
 rapidissimus = 546. 544-545 Matth. 16, 13. 546 cursu rapidissimo = 542.
 552-553 die Pentecostes] 17 May 1103. 554 per altum pelagus = 4. Adriatici
 Maris = 465. 556 pertranseuntes ... (564-565) has civitates pertransivimus. 559
 Cesarea Palestina] See the note on 501. 560 possidet] Only since 18 February
 1102! 564 (cf. 55-56) ubi sunt montes Gelboe] Sic! 565 20 May 1103.
 567 (= 84) Ps. 78, 10: coram oculis nostris.

539 = 533. 542 et 545 u ad 463 549 lacti correxi: lacte 556-557
 Franci optinent, quasdam m. al. coeva 558 at suph 564 licc

570 vero duae nobiscum Ioppen venientes, palmariis oneratae, nos-
 tram navim derelinqentes solam, quia leviores erant Cesaream
 remis confugerunt, Sarraceni autem, nostram navim circum-
 quaque girando et quantum iactus est sagittae insidias alonge
 tendendo, de tanta preda gavisi sunt. Nostri vero, mori pro
 575 Christo parati, arma arripuerunt et secundum tempus castellum
 navis nostrae armatis munierunt: erant enim in nostro dro-
 mundo defendentium fere ducenti virorum. Post spacium autem
 quasi unius horae, inito consilio, princeps exercitus unum ex
 nautis malum navis suae, quia maxima erat, ascendere precepit,
 580 ut ab eo statum nostrae actionis omnino edisceret. Dum vero
 constantiam nostrae defensionis ab illo intellexit, extensis in
 altum velis alta petierunt maris: sic illa die ab inimicis sui
 gratia eripuit nos dominus. Nostrates autem de Ioppen postea
 de eisdem navibus tres detinuerunt et spoliis illorum divites
 585 facti sunt. Nos etenim, iuxta Syriam Palestinam prout potuimus
 velificantes, post octo dies ad Portum Sancti Andreae in insula
 Cipros appulimus, inde vero sequenti die velificando versus
 Romaniam, Portum Sancti Simeonis et Portum Sanctae Mariae
 pertranseundo post multos dies ad Parvam Antiochiam veni-
 590 mus. In illo autem itinere a piratis sepe sumus invasi, sed divina
 nos protegente gratia neque impetu hostium neque motu tem-
 pestatum aliquid vi adhuc amisimus. Deinde per spatiosum litus
 Romaniae iter dirigendo, urbes Stamirram et Patras Beati
 Nicholai pertranseundo, ante vigiliam sancti Iohannis Baptistae
 595 ad insulam Rodam vix venimus: tractus enim civitatis Satali,
 nisi divina nos defenderet clementia, nos penitus devoraret.
 Roda vero, ut citius pergeremus, minorem conduximus navim
 et iterum ad Romaniam sumus reversi. Postea venimus ad
 Strovilo civitatem pulcherrimam sed a Turcis omnino devas-
 600 tatam, ibique per multos dies vento valido atque contrario
 sumus detenti. Deinde venimus ad insulam Samo ibique compa-

570 Ioppen] See the note on 74. (Naves) ... palmariis oneratae = 143. 572-
 574 Sarraceni ... insidias ... tendendo = 151-152. 573 Cf. Luc. 22, 41: quantum
 iactus est lapidis (= 351-352.373). 574-575 mori pro Christo parati] Cf. Act.
 21, 13. 581-582 extensis in altum velis] Cf. 92-93: expansis in altum manibus.
 582-583 ab ... sui gratia eripuit nos dominus = 146-147. 585 Syriam Palestinam
 (so called since Hadrian; cf. 501): not 'the coast of Syria and Palestine' (translation
 p. 28) but 'the Palestinian part of Syria'. Cf. also 218. 594 ante = pridie ante
 (vigiliam): 22 June 1103. 595 and 597 Roda(m) = 51. tractus: drawing
 in, strong current, cf. Sallust, *Iug.* 78, 3: *Syrtes ab tractu nominatae*. 596 nisi
 divina nos defenderet clementia = 11. 597 ut citius pergeremus: see Pryor, above, pp.
 52-53. 600 vento valido atque contrario = 78-79.

578 hore (e in ras.) 592 spatium 599 Strovilo correxi (cf. 30 et 618-
 619): Stroinlo

ratis victui necessariis sicut et in omnibus insulis, appulimus
ad insulam Scion. Ibidem navi nostra cum sociis amissa iter
Constantinopolitanum orandi causa intravimus. Postea transi-
605 vimus per urbem magnam Smirnam et venimus ad insulam
Metelinam, deinde Tenit, ibique in partibus Romaniae fuit
antiquissima et famosissima civitas Troia, cuius structurae ae-
dificia per multorum miliariorum spacia testantibus Grecis
adhuc apparent. Inde vero iter movendo venimus ad mare
610 strictum quod Brachium Sancti Georgii vocatur, quod discernit
duas terras, Romaniam scilicet et Macedoniam, per quod veli-
ficando venimus ad Sanctum Femium, habens Greciam in dex-
tera, Macedoniam vero in sinistra. Civitas autem sancti Femii epi-
scopi ex uno latere Brachii in Macedonia, alia vero civitas, quae
615 Savithae vocatur, ex altero latere sita est in Grecia, ita ut
arcusbalista bis vel ter proicere potest de civitate ad civitatem,
quae claves Constantinopolitanae esse dicuntur. Deinde vero
velificando pertransivimus Callipolis et Agios Georgios et Pa-
niados aliaque preclara Macedoniae castra venimusque ad ci-
620 vitatem Rothostocam post festum sancti Michaelis, postea inde
remoti venimus ad Racleam civitatem egregiam, unde Helena
rapta fuit a Paridi Alexandro testantibus Grecis.

604 *orandi causa* cf. 2. 608 (= 622) *testantibus Grecis* cf. 208. 612-613
Cf. 537-538. 615-616 Cf. 270-271. 617 *quae ... dicuntur*] Not 'are called'
(translation p. 30) but 'are said to be', 'are considered to be'. 620 *post festum*
sancti Michaelis] 'the day after Michaelmas' (29 September 1103). 620-621
postea inde remoti = 21. 622 *testantibus Grecis* = 608 (cf. 208).

602 *victus* 609 *venimus bis, alt. del.* 618-619 *Paviados, cf. 30 et 599*

JOHN OF WÜRZBURG

Iohannes, dei gratia in Wirziburgensi aecclesia id quod est, dilecto suo socio et domestico Dietrico salutem et supernae Iherusalem, cuius participatio in idipsum, contemplationem.

Nota michi morum tuorum tam conformis omnibus bonis
 5 viris dispositio necnon et illa tam studiosa ad cultum divini obsequii devotio, preter rationem etiam domestici consortii, affectionem animi mei tuae voluntati, quam in mutua vicissitudinis compensatione semper presumo equam et benignam fore, sicsic obligaverunt, quod nulla vota tua, in quorum tamen
 10 completionem sedulitatis meae requiratur opera, quantum ad possibilitatem virum mearum patiantur cassari optato fine. Inde est etiam quod ego, in Iherosolimitana manens peregrinatione pro domini nostri Iesu Christi amore, tui tamen absentis non immemor, dilectionis tuae causa loca venerabilia, quae
 15 dominus noster, mundi salvator, una cum gloriosa genitrice sua MARIA virgine perpetua et cum reverendo discipulorum suorum collegio corporali sanctificavit presentia, precipue in civitate sancta Iherusalem, quanto expressius et studiosius potui denotando, in eis facta et epygrammata sive prosaice sive metrice
 20 stili officio colligere laboravi. Quam descriptionem tibi acceptam fore estimo, ideo scilicet, quia evidenter singula per eam notata tibi, quandoque divina inspiratione et tuitione huc venienti, sponte et sine inquisitionis mora et difficultate tanquam nota tuis sese ingerunt oculis, vel, si forte non veniendo haec intuitu
 25 non videbis corporeo, tamen ex tali noticia et contemplatione eorum amplio rem quoad sanctificationem ipsorum devotionem habebis. Scio equidem iam dudum ante tempora moderna haec eadem loca non tantum in civitate prefata, sed etiam longe extra posita a quodam viro reverendo in scripta redacta fuisse;
 30 verum, quia postmodum per tanti temporis spacium, eadem

1 1 Cor. 15, 10: *Gratia ... dei sum id quod sum.* 2 dilecto suo socio cf. 222. domestico cf. 6. 3 Ps. 121, 3: *Iherusalem ... cuius participatio eius in idipsum.* 6 domestici cf. 2. 9 sicsic = 1440. 29 quodam viro reverendo] No doubt Fretellus. Cf. 38 and 44.

Descriptio locorum Terre sancte (f II) T, Descriptio terre sancte B, Revelatio de partibus transmarinis A 1 Wirziburgensi T, Wirzeburgensi BA, Virzenburgensi M 2 Dietrico T, Diethrico A, Dietrio B, Iditrio M 5 illa T, tua add. β 9 (= 1440) sicsic TBA, pr. sic del. T, sic super M 11 virium mearum TB, mearum virium AM optato fine TM, fine obtato B, bono fine A 12 Iherosolimatana corr. T 16 Maria T, beata scilicet (scilicet beata A) Maria β discipulorum suorum T, om. AM, suorum om. B 21 singula per eam TB, per eam singula AM 25 non videbis corporeo T, corporeo non videbis β 26 quod ad e quoad m. al. T, cf. 994.1379 30 spacium (= 136-137) T, intervallum β

- civitate sepe ab hostibus capta et destructa, etiam eadem sacrosancta loca infra muros et prope extra, de quibus tantum intendimus, sunt eversa et forte postea transmutata, ideo hec nostra devotio iuxta situm eorum, quem coram positi videndo
 35 diligenter denotavimus, superhabundans et superflua non est iudicanda. De his autem, quae longe extra in adiacente sunt provincia, non proposuimus dicere, cognoscentes sufficienter iam ab aliis dictum fore. Verumtamen principium huius descriptionis propter exordium nostrae redemptionis, in civitate Nazareth
 40 per incarnationem domini angelica enunciatione celebratum, ab eadem civitate, quae a Ierosolimis fere sexaginta miliaris distat, constituere et loca interiacentia inter ipsam et civitatem sanctam breviter et summam perstringere volumus, licet de his per alios diffusius et prolixius iam dictum esse cognoscamus.
- 45 Haec eadem civitas, decem miliaris a Tyberiade distans, caput est Galileae et proprie civitas Salvatoris dicitur eo, quod ipse in ea conceptus et nutritus fuit, unde et ipse *Nazarenus* nuncupatur. Nazareth interpretatur 'flos' vel 'virgultum', nec sine causa, cum in ea flos ortus sit ex cuius gratia est repletus
 50 mundus, flos ille virgo Maria, ex qua Gabriel archangelus in eadem Nazareth filium Altissimi nasciturum nunciavit, inquiens: *Ave MARIA*, et caetera. Cui et illa: *Ecce ancilla domini*, et caetera. De Nazareth dictum fuit: *A Nazareth potest aliquid boni esse?* Secundo miliario a Nazareth Sephoris civitas, via
 55 que ducit Achon. Ex Sephori Anna mater MARIAE matris domini nostri. In Sephori etiam dicitur fuisse nata beata virgo MARIA, sed teste Iheronimo, ut ait in prologo sermonis illius, quem fecit

31 *capta et destructa* = 419. 38 ab aliis] Cf. 29. 44 per alios] Cf. 29. 45-53 Fr 37, 1-7. 47 Nazarenus] Matth. 2, 23; Marc. 1, 24; Luc. 4, 34; Ioh. 19, 19. 48 flos vel virgultum] Jerome, *Interpr.* p. 137, 24-25. 48-49 *nec sine causa* = 156. 50-53 Luc. 1, 26-38. 53-54 Ioh. 1, 46. 54-56 Fr 37, 8-9. 57-60 Ps.-Jerome, *Ep.* 50 (*De nativitate s. Mariae*), MPL 30, 298B (59 *in eodem cubiculo* etc.: cf. 303C).

33 sunt eversa ... postea T, eversa sunt ... postmodum (= 30) β 34 quem T, que β 37-38 sufficienter iam ab aliis TB, iam ab aliis sufficienter AM 40 enunciatione TB, annunciatione AM 41 a (= 1176) BM, ab TA 41 LX^a T, LX BM, XL A miliaris T, *non liquet* B, miliaria AM 44 iam dictum β, dictum iam T 45 Haec (= 27-28): itaque *add.* m² T miliaris TB, miliaria A, *non liquet* M 46 salvator in civitas Salvatoris (= β(Fr)) *corr.* m² T 47 fuit TB(Fr), fuerit AM. *In margine* .I. Sigillum B 48 Nazareth ... 52 domini TB(Fr), *om.* AM, 53 et ... 54 esse TB, *om.* AM 49 gratia *om.* TB, *in margine rest.* T, fructu Fr (-AM) 51 nasciturum T(Fr), *om.* B (-AM). *In margine* .I. Sigillum m² T 55 Achon B, Acho T, Achion AM 56 nostri TB, *om.* AM

ad Eliodorum de nativitate sanctae Mariae, in ipsa civitate Nazareth nata esse dicitur, in eodem cubiculo, ubi et postmodum
 60 inpregnata fuit angelico alloquio. Hoc adhuc ibidem ostenditur in loco distincto, ut presens vidi et notavi. Quarto miliario a Nazareth, secundo a Sephori, Cana Galileae ad orientem, a qua Philippus et Nathanael. In qua puer Iesus cum matre sua discumbens in nuptiis aquam convertit in vinum. In Nazareth
 65 labitur fons exiguus ille, ex quo in puericia Iesus solebat haurire et inde ministrare matri suae. Miliare a Nazareth contra meridiem est locus qui 'Precipitium' dicitur, ex quo iuvenes Iesum precipitare voluerunt, sed ab eis in momento disparuit.

Quarto miliario a Nazareth contra orientem mons Thabor, in
 70 quo transfiguravit se Iesus apostolis suis presentibus Petro et Iohanne et Iacobo, coram quoque Moyse et Helia. Quod festum Ierosolimis sollempniter celebratur in die sancti Sixti et maxime a Surianis, cum et ibi vox Patris audita est, dicens: *hic est filius meus dilectus*, et caetera. Qui etiam Petro et Iohanni et Iacobo
 75 vetuit ne quod viderant alicui revelarent donec a mortuis Filius hominis resurgeret. Ibi Petrus ait: *domine, bonum est nos hic esse*, et caetera. Secundo miliario a Thabor contra orientem mons Hermon. In descensu montis Thabor obviavit Abrahae redeunti a cede Amalech dominus Melchisedech, qui et Sem

61 ut presens vidi et notavi] Cf. 797.953-954.1285.1402-1403. 61-66 Fr 37, 10-16. 63 Philippus] See the note on lines 647-648. Nathanael] Ioh. 21, 2: ... et Nathanael, qui erat a Cana Galilaeae. 63-64 Ioh. 2, 1-10. 64-66 See the note on Th 1519-1525. 66-68 Fr 38, 1-3 (Luc. 4, 29-30). 67 Precipitium] See the critical apparatus *ad* 68, and p. 16 of the introduction. 69-71 Fr 38, 4-6. 69-71 and 73-77 Matth. 17, 1-9; Marc. 9, 1-8; Luc. 9, 28-36. 71-73 See the *Appendix liturgica*, lines 34-53; in *die s. Sixti*: 6 August. 73-77 Fr 38, 6-10. 73-74 = 448. 74-76 Matth. 17, 9. 76-77 Matth. 17, 4. 77-78 Fr 39, 1. 78-81 Fr 39, 3-6. 78-80 Gen. 14, 18. 79 redeunti a cede Amalech: 2 Reg. 1, 1 (David).

58 sanctae Mariae TB, (de nativitate) sancta Maria AM post in ipsa erasum est verbum unum T 60 ibidem ostenditur TM, ibi ostenditur B, ostenditur ibidem A 61 in loco distincto TB, om. AM 62 secundo T(Fr), vero ex abbreviatura male lecta AM, duo B Galileae (= 963) β, Galilea T 63 sua T(Fr), om. β sed cf. 1174.1387; 957 64 aquam (aqua AM) convertit β(Fr), convertit aquam T 65 exiguus] vel eximius ss. m² T in puericia Iesus TB(Fr), puer Iesus in pueritia AM 67 iuvenes] Iudei (= Tb 1530!) B 68 voluerunt TB(Fr), volebant AM disparuit] et vulgo dicitur hodie Saltus dei in margine m² T, cf. adn. 70 presentibus β(Fr), s(cilicet) in rasura add. T 71 et Iacobo in margine T(Fr) (= 74), om. β 73 cum ... 77 caetera TB(Fr), om. AM 73 (= 447-448) dicens T, om. B (-AM) 74 dilectus B, om. T (-AM) Petro ... Iacobo (= 70-71) T(Fr), Petro et aliis B (-AM) 78 montis Thabor β(Fr), Thabor montis T

- 80 filius Noe, sacerdos et rex Salem, presentans ei panem et vinum, quod figurat altare Christi sub gratia. Secundo miliario a Thabor Naim civitas, ad cuius portam Iesus restituit vitae filium viduae, quem incolae narrant Bartholomeum fuisse postea factum apostolum. Supra Naim mons Endor; ad radicem eius, supra tor-
- 85 rentem Cadumin, qui et torrens Cyson, consilio Delborae prophetissae Baruch filius Amon devicit Idumeos, Sisara occiso a Gebel uxore Aberemei, Zeb autem et Zebee et Salmana trans Iordanem persequens gladio peremit Baruch, eorum in Endor et sub Endor caeso exercitu, unde in psalmo: *Thabor et Hermon*
- 90 *in nomine tuo exultabunt*, et caetera. Quinto miliario a Naim Iezrael civitas, quae et Zaraim, quae modo vulgo dicitur Minor Gallina, ex qua Iezabel impiissima regina fuit, quae abstulit vineam Naboth, quae pro importunitate sua de summo palatii sui precipitata interiit, cuius adhuc pyramis nuper superstes
- 95 videbatur. Iuxta Iezrael campus Magedon, in quo rex Ozias a rege Samariae subactus occubuit, deinde translatus in Syon sepultus est. Miliario a Iezrael montes Gelboe, in quibus dimicantes Saul et Ionathas subacti siluerunt, unde David: *montes Gelboe, nec ros nec pluvia*, et caetera. Secundo miliario a Gelboe
- 100 contra orientem Scitopolis, Galileae civitas metropolis quae et Bethsan, id est 'domus solis' vel 'civitas', supra muros cuius

81 *sub gratia* = 332. 81-82 Fr 39, 7-8 (Luc. 7, 11-15). 84-90 Fr 39, 8-13. In lines 89-90 JW replaces Fretellus' quotation of Ps. 82, 11 by Ps. 88, 13. 84-87 Iud. 4, 1-22. 87-88 Iud. 8, 3-12. 88-89 Cf. Ps. 82, 10-12. 89-90 Ps. 88, 13. 90-91 Fr 40, 1. 92-99 Fr 40, 2-9. 92-94 3 Reg. 21, 1-14 and 4 Reg. 9, 30-37. 94-95 = 191-192. 95-97 Confusion of 4 Reg. 23, 29-30 with 4 Reg. 9, 27-28. Cf. Th 1401-1403. 96-97 = 689-690, cf. 111-112. 97-99 1 Reg. 31, 1-7 and 2 Reg. 1, 21. 99-102 Fr 40, 11-13. 101-102 1 Reg. 31, 8-10.

81 figurat TM(Fr), figuravit BA 84 eius in cuius *mut. m. al.* T 85 *post* torrens *rasura* 2-3 *litt.* T Delbore TBA (*et Tb* 1495), Debbore M(Fr) 86 Baruch (= 88) T, Barut B (*cf. Tb* 1496), Barach AM(Fr), *cf. app. cr. ad* 88 87 Gebel T, Gehel B, Iahel AM (Gahel Fr) Aberemei T, Abheremi B, Abercynnei A(Fr), Abercinci M Zeb ... 90 caetera TB, *om.* AM Zeb autem et Zebee T(Fr), Zebus Iebee B (-AM) 88 Baruch T, Barac B (-AM), *cf. app. cr. ad* 86 eorum *correx*i cum Fr, vero TB (-AM) 91 vulgo dicitur (= 103) T, dicitur vulgo β 91-92 Minor Gallina (*cf.* 103) TB, Minor Gallia M, Gallina Minor A 94 pyramis (= 191) A(Fr), pyramus T, piramis M, priamis B 95 Magedon T, Mageddon AM, Maiedon B 97 sepultus est T, est sepultus B, sepultus AM (*et* sepultus Fr, *cf.* 689-690) 98 siluerunt TB(Fr), ceciderunt AM 100 Scitopolis] Sciropolis TBM, Seiropolis A 101 vel (*sive* Fr) civitas T(Fr), *om.* β, *cf. app. cr. ad* 131 muros cuius B(Fr), cuius muros AM, muros eius T

suspenderunt caput Saulis. Quinto miliario a Iezrael Genunium oppidum, quod modo Crassa vel Maior Gallina vulgo dicitur. Inter hoc et Sebasten ostenditur planicies quam vocant Do-
 105 thaim, ubi prope viam adhuc apparet vetus illa cisterna, in qua missus fuit Ioseph a fratribus suis. A Genunio oppido supradicto incipit Samaria. Decimo miliario a Genunio Samaria, quae et Sebasten et Augusta ab Augusto Cesare dicta. In qua sepultus fuit ille precursor domini Baptista Iohannes, ab Herode decol-
 110 latus trans Iordanem iuxta Lacum Aspaltidis in castello Masconta, a discipulis suis inde translatus Sebasten ibique sepultus inter Helyseum et Abdiam. Assumitur exinde postea corpus a Iuliano apostata concrematumque fuisse perhibetur datis vento cineribus, sed absque capite, quod Alexandriae ante translatum
 115 fuerat, postea in Constantinopolim, ad ultimum in Galliam in pago Pictaviensi, et absque indice, quo venientem ad baptismum Iesum indicaverat, dicens: *ecce agnus dei*, et caetera. Indicem illum detulit secum beata Tecla virgo inter Alpes ibique sub maxima veneratione tenetur in aecclesia Moriacensi. Et Samaria
 120 nomen urbis et patriae. Quarto miliario a Samaria, quae et Sebasten, Neapolis quae et Sychem, a Sychem patre Emor

102-103 and 106-107 Fr 41, 4. 105-106 See 683-686. 107-120 Fr 42, 1-13. 108-111 Matth. 14, 6-12; Marc. 6, 21-29. 111-112 Cf. 96-97. 115-116 in pago Pictaviensi = 235. 117 Ioh. 1, 29. 118 *detulit secum* = 1095. 120-135 Fr 43, 1-14. 121-122 a and A: after, 123 a: from (= ex Fretellus). See the critical apparatus: in more than one manuscript the text is misunderstood.

102 (cf. 106 et 107) Genunium T, Gemunum B, Geminum A, Gemimum M (Genuinum Fr, cf. app. cr. ad 484). Cf. Tb 1397 et 1398. 105 qua Tb, quam m² T. 106 missus fuit Ioseph TB, Ioseph missus est AM. Genunio T, Genon B, Gemino A, Gemimo M. 107 Decimo miliario a G (...) TB(Fr), Decima a G (...) mil. AM. Genunio T, Genuino corr. T, Genoino B, Gemuno A, Gemimo M. Samaria B(Fr), est Samaria T, Samaria est AM. 108 Cesare (Cesaro M) AM, .c. (= 492) B, civitas T. 109 ille TB(Fr), om. AM. Baptista Iohannes T(Fr), Iohannes Baptista AM, Baptista om. B. 110 trans Iordanem TB(Fr), om. AM. Aspaltidis AM (sic et Fr 42, 4 et 10, 1, app. cr., et cod. T 529.543.546 et 625), Aspaltidem T (sed cf. 543.625), Aspaladem B (Aspaladis B 529.543.546 et 625). 110-111 Masconta (sic) TA, Masconca B et ut videtur M. 112 postea corpus TB(Fr), corpus postea AM. 112-113 a Iuliano apostata TB(Fr), ab apostata Iuliano AM. 113 concrematumque (cf. 533) TB, crematumque A, et crematum M (crematum Fr). 114 cineribus e correctura T. 115 in Galliam (Fr) ss. m² T, om. B. Cf. 234. 118 detulit secum TB(Fr), secum detulit AM. beata TB(Fr), om. AM. 119 tenetur TB(Fr), habetur AM. Moriacensi TAM, Monacensi B (Morianensi recte Fr). Et B(Fr), est add. T. 120 quae et conieci coll. 107 et Neapolis quae et (121), est TAM (a Samaria est om. et Neapolim B) (a Sebasten Neapolis Fr). 121 Sebasten TB(Fr), Scasten AM.

nominata, inter Dan et Bethel posita. A Sychem est terra illa
 vocata Sychem; a Sychem Emor, qui Dinam filiam Iacob rapuit
 finibus illis deambulanti. In Sychem relata fuerunt ossa Ioseph
 125 ex Egipto. In Sychem iuxta fontem fabricavit Ieroboam duos
 aureos vitulos, quos adorari fecit instar Aaron decem tribubus,
 quas secum de Ierusalem adduxerat et seduxerat. Unum ex eis
 posuit in Dan, alium in Bethel. Sychem urbem illam deleverunt
 filii Iacob, Emor quoque peremerunt, dolentes de adulterio
 130 Dinae sororis suae. Sychem his diebus Neapolis dicitur, id est
 'Nova civitas'. Sychar ante Sychem, iuxta praedium quod dedit
 Iacob filio suo Ioseph. In quo Fons Iacob, qui et puteus supra
 quem evangelizatur fessum itinere sedisse Iesum et sermonem
 habuisse cum Samaritana, ubi nunc aecclesia constituitur. Iuxta
 135 Sychem terebintus illa, sub qua Iacob abscondit idola in Bethel.
 Miliario a Sychem Luza civitas, in qua per multi temporis
 spatium habitavit Abraham, ubi et Iacob dormiens scalam vidit
 et caput eius caelos tangebatur angelosque per eam descendentes
 et ascendentes, et statim evigilans ait: *hic locus vere sanctus est*
 140 *et porta caeli*, erigensque lapidem in titulum oleumque fundens
 desuper appellavit nomen loci illius Bethel, qui antea Luza
 vocabatur. Est autem Bethel collateralis mons Garizim, respi-
 ciens montem Gebal ad orientem iuxta Dan supra Sychem. In
 hoc monte, Bethel scilicet, dicitur Abraham filium suum mactare
 145 voluisse. Vicesimo miliario a Sychem, quarto ab Ierusalem, via

122-123 A ... a: see p. 83 (121-122). 123-124 Gen. 34, 1-2. 124
 finibus illis = 616. 124-125 Ios. 24, 32. 125-127 3 Reg. 12, 26-29. 126
 instar Aaron: Ex. 32, 2-6. 128-130 Gen. 34, 1-29. 131-132 Ioh. 4, 5:
 civitatem Samariae quae dicitur Sichar, iuxta praedium quod dedit Iacob Ioseph filio suo.
 132-134 Ioh. 4, 4-6 and 7ff. 134-135 Gen. 35, 4. 136-142 Fr 45, 1-
 6. 137-141 (cf. 295-301) Gen. 28, 2 and 5-19. 139-140 Gen. 28, 17.
 142-143 Fr 44, 1-2 (*Gebal ad orientem...*). 143-145 Fr 45, 6-7 (Gen. 28,
 10-19). 145-149 Fr 45, 8-11 (see the note on Th 1272-1286).

122 nominata] vocata est B, et inter ... 123 Emor om. B post posita erasum
 est fuit T, et add. AM (-B) 122-123 est terra illa vocata TA, vocata est terra
 illa M (-B) 123 a Sychem T, in quo codice in lacuna scilicet patre (cf. 121) add.
 m² 124 finibus TB(Fr), in finibus (cf. 203.603) AM 124-125 In ... Egipto
 (Egipto) TB(Fr), om. AM relata fuerunt B(Fr), vero relata fuerant T (-AM)
 128 deleverunt TB(Fr), diruerunt AM 131 nova civitas B(Fr), nova urbs
 vel civitas (cf. 101) AM, civitas nova T ante TA(Fr), autem BM 132
 Ioseph β(Fr), om. T 133 fessum itinere sedisse Iesum TM(Fr), fessum fuisse
 itinere et sedisse Iesum A, fessus sedisse (om. itinere) Iesus B 134 Samaritana
 β(Fr), muliere Samaritana (= Tb 1358) T 138 et caput ... 142 vocabatur
 TB(Fr), om. AM 139 alt. et T, om. B (-AM) (unde Fr) 140 erigensque
 T(Fr), erigens B (-AM) 141 desuper T(Fr), insuper B (-AM) 144 scilicet
 β, om. T

quae ducit Diospolim, mons Sylo et civitas, quae et Rama, ubi archa testamenti et tabernaculum domini ab adventu filiorum Israel remanserunt usque ad tempora Samuelis prophetae et David regis. Vicesimo quarto miliario a Sychem, XVI° a Diospoli, XVI° ab Ebron, decimo ab Iericho, quarto a Bethleem, XVI° a Bersabee, vicesimo quarto ab Ascalone totidemque a Ioppe, XVI° a Ramatha, Ierusalem, sanctissima Iudeae metropolis, quae et Sion, de qua dictum est: *gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas dei*, quae et Helia ab Helio Adriano qui eam construxit.

155 Bethleem 'domus panis' interpretatur – Bethleem civitas Iuda quae et Ephrata – nec sine causa, quia de flore Nazareno processit in ea fructus vitae de virgine Maria, videlicet filius dei vivi Christus Iesus, qui est panis angelorum totiusque mundi vita. In Bethleem iuxta locum nativitatis presepe, in quo latitavit ipse infans Iesus, unde et propheta: *cognovit bos possessorem suum et asinus presepe domini sui*. Ex quo fenum illud, in quo puer Iesus latitaverat, Romae delatum fuit ab Helena regina et honeste reconditum in aeclesia Sanctae Mariae Maioris. In loco nativitatis domini ex musivo opere deaurato hii duo

165 versus leguntur apposti:

ANGELICAE LUMEN VIRTUTIS ET EIUS ACUMEN
HIC NATUS VERE DEUS EST DE VIRGINE MATRE

Miliario a Bethleem refulsit stella pastoribus nato domino eisque apparente angelo et dicente: *gloria in excelsis deo et in*

170 *terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*. In Bethleem nova stella

149-154 Fr 45, 12-17. 153-154 (cf. 193) Ps. 86, 3. 155 Fr 46, 8 (Isidore, *Etym.* 15, 1, 23, and *passim*). 155-156 Fr 46, 2. 156 quae et Ephrata: Gen. 35, 19 and 48, 7 (Mich. 5, 2). 156-164 Fr 46, 8-14. 156 nec sine causa = 48-49. de flore Nazareno] Cf. 47-48. 158 panis angelorum] Ps. 77, 25. 158-159 totiusque mundi vita] Ioh. 6, 52. 159-160 latitavit ... Iesus = 162. 160-161 Is. 1, 3. 162 puer Iesus latitaverat = 159-160. 166-167 = Appendix inscriptionum (f) and Th 1138-1139. 168-175 Fr 47, 1-7. 169-170 Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 236, nr. 2946 = Luc. 2, 14 (*in altissimis*).

149-152 Nota situm locorum circa Ierusalem in margine m² T 150 decimo] tercio decimo Fr 151 XVI° TB(Fr), XV, XV° AM 154 Helio (= 901) B, Helyo M, Elio TA construxit] seu potius transmutavit ss. m² T 155 Sigillum .II. in margine B 156 Ephrata T, Efrata AM, Eufratha B 157 videlicet T(Fr), videlicet Christus (= 158) B, scilicet A, fidelis M In margine .II. Sigillum m² T 158 Christus Iesus T, Iesus Christus BA, Christus M 159 quo AM(Fr), quo et T, quorum B 159-160 latitavit ipse infans Iesus AM(Fr), ipse infans Iesus latitavit T, ipse latitavit Iesus B 160 unde et TB, unde AM(Fr) 161 suum ... sui T(Fr) et omisso suum B, suum et cetera M, et cetera A 169 et in ... 170 voluntatis T(Fr), om. AM, et cetera B

duce venerunt tres reges ab Oriente venerari natum Iesum et
 ut regem angelorum adorare, presentantes ei mistica munera
 aurum, thus et mirram. In Bethleem eiusque finibus Innocentes
 decollari iussit Herodes, quorum pars maxima contra meridiem
 175 quarto miliario a Bethleem, secundo a Thecua, sepulta quiescit.
 Quarto miliario a Bethleem contra meridiem aecclesia Beati
 Kariton, ubi et ipso transeunte de hoc mundo monachi eius,
 quibus pastor pius prefuerat, cum eo pariter agonizaverunt,
 quod a deo devote presciant, eo quod pater eorum pius
 180 extiterat nec post eum vivere volebant, eius amore ferventes;
 quorum singulorum compagines in aecclesia predicta videri
 possunt modo illo, quo se habuerant in desolatione patris eorum
 agonizantes, translati postea in Ierusalem. In Bethleem infra
 basilicam, haut longe a presepio domini, in caverna quadam
 185 requiescit corpus beati Iheronimi; Paula quidem et Eustochium,
 quibus ipse scripsit Iheronimus, similiter in Bethleem sepultae
 quiescunt. Miliario a Bethleem, via quae ducit Ierusalem, Ka-
 brata, locus in quo cum Beniamin peperisset Rachel occubuit
 ibique a Iacob viro suo tumultata quiescit. Cuius tumulo super-
 190 posuit Iacob duodecim lapides non modicos in testamento XII
 filiorum suorum. Cuius adhuc pyramis a transeuntibus videri
 potest.

Iherusalem, gloriosa Iudeae metropolis, iuxta philosophos in
 medio mundi sita est. Regnavit in ea David triginta quatuor
 195 annis et dimidio. Est quidem in Ierusalem mons Moria, super
 quem videns angelum percutientem evaginato gladio, qui po-

172-173 Matth. 2, 11. 173-174 Matth. 2, 16. 175 *sepulta quiescit* = 186-
 187.699.704.734-735.796-797, cf. 561, 1393 and 189. 176-183 (cf. 1432-
 1439) Fr 48, 2-8. 179 *presciant*] *petierant* Fretellus (48, 5). 183 *agonizantes*]
agonizantis Fretellus (48, 8). 183-187 Fr 47, 9-11. 186 quibus ipse scripsit
 Iheronimus] See 1214-1216. 187-192 Fr 49, 1-5 (Gen. 35, 18-20). 186-
 187 *sepultae quiescunt* = 175. 187-188 Kabrata] See M. Thiel, *Grundlagen*, p.
 269 s.n. Chabrath(a), and Th 1124. 188 Gen. 35, 16-19. 189 *tumultata*
quiescit cf. 175. 190-191 Cf. Gen. 35, 22. 191-192 = 94-95. 193 *gloriosa*
 cf. 153-154, and Th 1128. 193-195 Fr 50, 1-2. 194-195 Cf. 2 Reg. 5, 5.
 195-200 Fr 51, 1-5 (2 Reg. 24, 16-17).

171 Iesum TB, dominum AM 172 adorare β(Fr), adorarent T 174
 decollari iussit β(Fr), iussit decollari T pars maxima β(Fr), maxima pars T
 175 (The)cua in ras. T et B 176 aecclesia TB(Fr), est add. AM 177 et
 TB(Fr), om. AM ipso T(Fr), ipse β 178 agonizaverunt TB(Fr), agonizaverant
 AM 179 devote TB(Fr), devoti AM presciant sic (petierant Fr) 183
 agonizantis Fr translati postea TB(Fr), postea translati AM 187-188
 Kabrata β(Fr), Cabrata cum neumate T, Katabrata Tb 1124 189 a (om. B) Iacob
 viro suo (viro suo om. A) β(Fr), a viro suo Iacob T 189-190 superposuit
 AM(Fr), subposuit TB 195 Moria cum neumate T

- pulum dei graviter cedebat, timens ne in se et in urbem ulcisceretur quod in populo numerato deliquerat, pronus in terram corruit vere penitens graviterque se affligens a domino exauditus
- 200 veniam meruit. De David ait dominus: *inveni virum secundum cor meum*. In monte Moria regnante David florebat area Hornan Iebusei, a quo et ipse David eam emere voluit ad construendam ibi domum domini, quod ab eo misericordiam loco illo consecutus fuerat, eo quod angelus domini ei parcens ibidem restitit.
- 205 Emit quidem, sed vetitum fuit ei a domino ne inde se intramitteret, quia vir sanguinum erat. Ergo quas ad hoc preparaverat expensas Salemoni filio suo, cui a domino concedebatur, tradidit, quatinus inde domino domum construeret. Et aedificavit rex Salomon in area domino templum, id est Bethel, et
- 210 altare, quae et dedicavit incomparabili sumptu, petens a domino quod quicumque de quocumque consuleret eum, in eo exaudiri mereretur, quod concessum fuit ei a domino: ergo domus domini domus consilii. Illud autem postea pro incontinentia principis et populi exspoliavit Nabuchodonosor per Nabuzardan principem cocorum suorum tempore Sedechiae regis ipsumque privatum ab urbe totumque quod speciosum fulgebat in aede et in
- 215 urbe tulit iussitque sibi presentari in Babilone populum; paulo post quidem pharao Nechao templum delevit et urbem. Modo vero, ne relatori videatur absurdum auditorique tediosum sub
- 220 quibus et a quibus restructiones et destructiones primi, secundi, tertiis templi extiterunt enumerare, hoc de presenti Bethel prout verius queam tibi, dilecte mi, elucidare conabor. Revera de hoc

197 *graviter* = 199. 199 *graviterque* = 197. 200-201 Fr 50, 3 (Act. 13, 22, cf. 1 Reg. 13, 14). 201-213 Fr 51, 5-16. 201-204 2 Reg. 24, 18-25. 206 vir sanguinum] 2 Reg. 16, 6 and 8; 1 Par. 28, 3. 210-212 2 Par. 1, 7-12 and 7, 12-22. 212 Cf. Ps. 22, 6 and 91, 14: *in domo domini*. 213-217 Fr 52, 2-6 (4 Reg. 25, 8-21). 215-216 *privatum ab urbe*] Cf. 616. 217-218 Fr 52, 1-2 (cf. 4 Reg. 23, 29ff.). 221-223 Fr 53, 1-3. 222 *tibi, dilecte mi* (cf. 2) instead of John's source for this passage (Fr 53, 1): *tibi, pie antistes!*

201 Hornan TB(Fr), Ornan AM 203 quod TB(Fr), quia AM loco illo TB(Fr), in loco illo (cf. 124) AM 204 eo quod AM(Fr), eoque TB 207 Salemoni TM, Salomoni A, Salomon B cui ... concedebatur TB(Fr), om. AM 208 domino (deo B) domum TB, domum domino AM(Fr) 208 Et ... 209 templum T(Fr), Edificavit in ea scilicet area rex Salomon (Salemon M) templum domino (domino templum B) β 210 quae β(Fr), quod T 216 speciosum TB, preciosum AM(Fr) et *Innominatus VI*, p. 434 217 presentari in Babilone (Babylone A) β(Fr), in Babilone presentari T 219 auditorique TB, ne auditori AM 221 extiterunt T, om. B, ex(s A) titerint AM *auctorem corrigentes* 222 *queam B et in ras.* T(Fr), possum AM 222-223 Revera de hoc (hoc om. A) Bethel β(Fr), De Bethel vero T

Bethel sub quo et a quo principe restitutum sit fere ignoratur: quidam enim sub Constantino imperatore ab Helena matre sua
 225 reedificatum fuisse perhibent pro reverentia sanctae crucis ab ea repertae, alii ab Eraclio imperatore pro reverentia ligni domini, quod de Perside triumphans retulerat, alii a Iustiniano Augusto, alii a quodam imperatore Memphis Egipti pro reverentia Allachiber, id est summi dei, quoniam ad ipsum colendum
 230 devote ab omni lingua veneratur. Presens hoc, inquam, templum est, quantum predicatur, cuius in penultimo octavo die natalis sui puer Iesus circumcisis est. Preputium eius in Ierusalem in templo de caelis ab angelo Karolo Magno regi presentatum fuit et ab eo delatum in Gallias Aquisgrani, postea quidem a Karolo
 235 Calvo translatum Aquitaniae in pago Pictaviensi apud Carusium in aeclesia, quam in honore sancti Salvatoris construxit et regie bonis amplissimis sub monachali religione locupletavit; quod extunc usque modo sollempniter ibi veneratur.

Primum, ut diximus, sacramentum in Nazareth civitate per
 240 incarnationem domini est celebratum, secundum vero per nativitatem ipsius in Bethlehem Iuda est consummatum, tertium, quod dicitur *Ypapanti domini*, id est 'representatio Christi', scilicet in quadagesimo die nativitatis suae, Ierusalem in templo domini est ostensum. Verumtamen haec tria sub uno compre-
 245 henduntur sigillorum, quae septem dicuntur in numero, quibus

223-229 Cf. Th 643-679. 224-230 Fr 53, 3-8. 225 *pro reverentia* = 226.228-229. 229 *Allachiber*: see H. Hagenmeyer, *Anonymi Gesta Francorum* (1890), p. 199, n. 13. 230-238 Fr 54, 1-8. 231-232 (= 258-259) *in penultimo* (?) has been taken from Fretellus (54, 1). octavo die natalis sui] Luc. 2, 21. 235 *in pago Pictaviensi* = 115-116. 235-236 Saint-Sauveur de Charroux (now Département Vienne but originally part of Poitou). 239 ut diximus] 38-40. 242 *Ypapanti domini*: 2 February. 245-247 Apoc. 5, 1-3 and 6, and 6, 1ff.

228 Augusto ... imperatore TB (Augusto ... ammyrator Fr), imperatore ... imperatore M, Augusto ... quodam om. A Memphis T, Menphis AM, mensis B 231 penultimo (= Fr 54, 1): illo ss. T 232 preputium eius T(Fr), prepucium cuius B, cuius preputium AM 234 postea β(Fr), sed postea T quidem e quidam corr. T 235 Calvo in rasura T Carusium T(Fr), Karusium β 236 quam T(Fr), sibi add. β sancti Salvatoris β(Fr), sancti om. T Salvatoris BM(Fr), nostri add. TA 237 regie (= largisque Fr) TB, om. AM sub monachali religione locupletavit TB (ditavit Fr), locupletavit sub monachali religione AM 238 ibi veneratur TB(Fr), veneratur ibi AM 239 in (cf. 39) TB, om. AM 241 Iuda correxi coll. 155: Iude codd., cf. Tb 648, app. cr. 242 quod T, quoque quod B, quoque A, quoque post dicitur M domini T, om. β 244 ostensum TB, celebratum (= 240) AM 245 in numero TB, in om. AM (qui)bus e correctura T

- ille liber in Apocalipsi signatus a nullo potuit solvi nisi ab agno illo, qui ab origine mundi est occisus. Unde et illud: *dignus es, domine*, et caetera. Computantur autem a quibusdam haec septem sigilla, videlicet nativitas domini seu incarnatio, baptis-
- 250 mus, passio, ad inferos descensio, resurrectio, ascensio, futuri iudicii representatio. De his autem septem iam sex in partibus Ierosolimitanis per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum sunt soluta, septimum complendum per eundem dominum nostrum, cuius completioni nec certa hora nec certus locus est ascriptus,
- 255 licet a Iohel propheta in persona domini dictum sit: *congregabo omnes gentes in Valle Iosaphat et ibi disceptabo cum eis*. Sed de his alibi, nunc vero redeamus ad representationem domini, adicientes hoc de circumcisione eius, quae facta est in templo domini octavo die, quod ipsa, quamvis in ea carnis abscisio
- 260 depositionem viciorum in mentibus aliorum significet, tamen, quia ad vetus testamentum pertinet et in eo consummationem accipiens amodo cessare debet, inter sacramenta novi testamenti non computatur nec attinet ad aliquod septem sigillorum predictorum.
- 265 Sicut iam diximus, dominus noster Iesus Christus a matre sua in templo est representatus, receptus ab ulnis beati Symeonis spiritu prophetico inferentis: *nunc dimittis servum tuum, domine*, et caetera. In templo dominus noster Iesus Christus, iam maior factus, dum moraretur Ierusalem etiam duodennis
- 270 disputabat cum Iudeis et docebat eos sepe postea, licet eum odio habuerint; in templo laudavit munus pauperis quod in gazophilatium miserat, quia totum quod habebat dederat. Supra

247 Apoc. 13, 8. 247-248 Apoc. 4, 11. 255-256 (= 747) Ioc. 3, 2.
 257 redeamus] Cf. 242. 259 octavo die = 231-232. 263-264 predictorum]
 244ff. 265 iam diximus] 241-244. 265-268 Fr 55, 1-3. 265 dominus
 noster Iesus Christus = 268. 267 spiritu prophetico = 1388. 267-268 (= 1391-
 1392) Luc. 2, 29. 268-271 Fr 55, 9 (Luc. 2, 42-46). 268 dominus noster
 Iesus Christus = 265. 271-272 Fr 55, 7-8 (Marc. 12, 42-44; Luc. 21, 2-4).
 272-276 Fr 55, 10-11 (Matth. 4, 5-6; Luc. 4, 9).

246 in Apocalipsi TB, Apocalipsis AM 246-247 agno illo β, illo agno T
 247 et illud B, illud AM, et ille T 251 autem T, om. β 252 Ierosolimitanis]
 Ierosolimitarum T, per abbreviaturam β 254 completionem TB, completionem AM
 255 dictum sit T, sit dictum β 256 valle TB, vallem AM 263 computatur
 TM, computantur BA attinet β, pertinet (= 261) T 265-266 matre sua
 (= 63.1174.1387; 957) β, sua matre T 266 representatus TB, presentatus AM
 beati TB, om. AM 267-268 nunc ... et caetera T, dimittis servum tuum
 om. B, servum tuum om. A, servum tuum domine om. M 269 Ierusalem T(Fr),
 in Ierusalem β 270 postea licet TB, licet postea AM 271 habuerint T,
 haberent β 272 Supra (Fr) vide p. 90

pinnaculum templi, quod reputatur supra latus circuitus, habens
subtus se fenestras quasi pinnae vel cinnas, statuit Iesum dia-
275 bolus, et tercio eum post baptismum et ieiunium temptans
dixit: *si filius dei es, mitte te deorsum*; in templo domini XI
Kalendas Decembris dicitur beata virgo MARIA iam trium an-
norum oblata fuisse, ut hii versiculi docent ibidem inscripti:

VIRGINIBUS SEPTEM VIRGO COMITATA PUELLIS
280 SERVITURA DEO FUIT HIC OBLATA TRIENNIS

Ibi quidem sepe solacium angelicum percepit, unde versus:

PASCITUR ANGELICO VIRGO MINISTERIO

De templo vendentes et ementes eiecit dominus Iesus Christus,
ad cuius rei indicium adhuc in dextera parte templi ostenditur
285 lapis cum magna veneratione luminariorum et ornatus, tam-
quam pede domini calcatus et insignitus quando ipse solus
virtute divina tot restitit hominibus, violenter eos eiciendo; qui
lapis adiunctus est lapidi, super quem tamquam in altari de-
pingitur dominus noster oblatus fuisse, ut demonstratur in
290 pictura et superscriptione, quae talis est:

HIC FUIT OBLATUS REX REGUM VIRGINE NATUS
QUAPROPTER SANCTUS LOCUS EST HIC IURE VOCATUS,
QUO LOCUS ORNATUR, QUO SANCTUS IURE VOCATUR,
HIC IACOB SCALAM VIDIT, CONSTRUXIT ET ARAM

295 Quod vero ibidem in lapide eodem Iacob depingitur caput
posuisse quando dormiens vidit scalam in caelum porrectam,

273-276 See p. 89. 274 *pinnae vel cinnas*: the parapet (the word *cinnas* in JW's German pronunciation = *zinnae*: Zinnen, battlements). 276-277 21 November. 279-280 and 282 = Th 446-448. 283 Fr 55, 3-4 (Matth. 21, 12; Marc. 11, 15; Luc. 19, 45; Ioh. 2, 14-15). 290 *pictura et superscriptione, quae talis est* = 309-310. 291-294 Lines 291 and 293 also in Th 603-604, lines 291, 293 and 294 (cf. Th 612) also in the "Innominatus VII", (Tobler, *Descriptiones* p. 102 =) ms. Erlangen 375 (s. XIII), f. 7: *A sinistro latere chori: est oblatus rex regum de virgine natus / Quo locus ornatur, quo sanctus iure vocatur / hic vidit scalam et titulum direxit et aaram (sic). A dextro vero latere ...* (see the note on 314). 295-301 Cf. 137-141.

(272) Supra (Fr) ...273 supra B, Super ... supra TA, Super ... super M. Cf. *app. cr. ad* 317 276 *mitte/mitte sed pr. mitte erasit* T 276-277 XI Kalendas Decembris *post* 277-278 annorum AM 281 unde (= 597.899.983): et *add. m*² T (*uti passim, cf. 332; 298, etc.*) 285 lapis TB, *om.* AM 287 violenter eos β, eos violenter T 293 *pr. quo correxi coll. Th 604 (et app. cr. ad locum)*: hic (e 291.292.294) *codd.* 296 posuisse TB, deposuisse AM

per quam angeli ascenderant et descenderant, salva templi
reverentia non verum est. Ubi et hic versus appositus est:

HAEC TUA SIT TERRA, IACOB, CUM PROLE FUTURA

300 Sed hoc non eo loco accidit Iacob sed longe alibi ad Mesopo-
tamiam eunti, scilicet iuxta Maiorem Mahumeriam.

In templo liberavit dominus noster adulteram ab accusanti-
bus, dicens: *qui sine peccato est*, et caetera. Qui etiam illi,
accusatoribus tacentibus et exeuntibus, dixit: *mulier, vade in*
305 *pace et iam amplius noli peccare*. Locus ille representatur in
parva cripta eiusdem templi, ad quam introitus est in sinistra
parte templi, et vocatur 'Confessio'. In eundem locum dicitur
ingressus Zacharias quando ab angelo de conceptione Iohannis
est certificatus. Hoc totum indicat pictura et superscriptiones,
310 quae tales sunt. Angelus ad Zachariam:

NE TIMEAS, ZACHARIA, EXAUDITA EST ORATIO TUA

et caetera.

In superliminari conspicitur imago Christi:

ABSOLVO GENTES SUA CRIMINA CORDE FATENTES

315 In templo ad altare quod extra erat sub divo, remotum a
templo plusquam per XX duos passus, Zacharias filius Bara-
chiaie martyr occubuit, supra quod in veteri testamento Iudei

300-301 Not *ad Mesopotamiam eunti* but on the way back: Th 1553-1554 (Gen. 32, 22-28). 303-305 Ioh. 8, 7 and 10-11. 307-309 Fr 56, 2-3 (Luc. 1, 5-22). 309-310 *pictura et superscriptiones, quae tales sunt* = 290. 311 Luc. 1, 13. 312 et caetera] These words are omitted by A and M, which are, admittedly, late manuscripts. But the rest of the inscription must have been rather long if it were to make sense: *et uxor tua Elisabeth pariet tibi filium (et vocabis nomen eius Iohannem)*. 314 This line also in the "Innominatus VII" (see above, note on lines 291-294): *A dextro vero latere (viz. chori), ubi angelus apparuit Zacharie, ibi subitus est confixio (confessio Tobler), olim sancta sanctorum, ubi dominus dimisit peccatrici deprehense in adulterio: absolvo gentes cordis crimen facientes (sic)*. 315-319 Fr 56, 3-6. 316-317 See the note on Th 531-532.

297 ascenderant et descenderant TB, ascendeabant et descendeabant AM 298 verum est (cf. 844) T, est verum β appositus est T, est appositus β 301 eunti in margine T, om. β scilicet TB, om. AM Mahumeriam (meriam e correctura T) TM, Machumeriam A, Maumariam B 302 noster T, om. β 302-303 accusantibus TB, accusatoribus (= 304) AM 303 Qui ... 305 peccare TB, om. AM illis TB, corr. T (-AM) 305 et iam amplius T, iam tantum B (-AM) 309 est certificatus TB, certificatus est AM 312 et caetera TB, om. AM 313 conspicitur T, om. β 317 supra TB(Fr), super AM, cf. app. cr. ad 272

turtures et columbas sacrificare solebant. Quod a Sarracenis
 postea mutatum est in horologium, et adhuc videri potest et
 320 notari quod plures Sarraceni etiam hodie causa orandi ad ipsum,
 versus meridiem dispositum, ad quem ipsi orare solent, veniunt.
 Idem vero Templum Domini, miro tabulatu marmoreo intus et
 exterius a quocumque exstructum, formam habet rotundam
 decenter, immo circulariter octogonam, id est VIII angulos
 325 habentem in circuitu, habens parietem de optimo musivo opere
 exterius adornatum usque ad medietatem eius, nam reliqua pars
 est de marmoreis lapidibus. Idem paries inferior est continuus,
 preterquam quod quatuor ostiis interrumpitur, habens ad orien-
 tem ostium unum cui adiuncta est capella in honore sancti
 330 Iacobi consecrata – nam ab ea parte de tecto templi ipse
 precipitatus pertica fullonis fuit occisus – qui primus pontifex
 fuit sub gratia in Ierusalem. Unde et hii versus sunt apposit
 in eadem capella in latere parietis:

IACOBUS ALPHEI, DOMINI SIMILIS FACIEI,
 335 FINIT PRO CHRISTO TEMPLO DEPULSUS AB ISTO:
 SIC IACOBUM IUSTUM PREDICANTEM PUBLICE CHRISTUM
 PLEBS MALA MULCTAVIT, FULLONIS PERTICA STRAVIT

Hii in circuitu quasi cyborei eiusdem capellae intus et supra
 continentur:

340 IACOBUS ALPHEI, FRATER DOMINI NAZAREI,
 PERSONA, VITA VERE FUIT ISRAELITA.
 DE TEMPLI PINNA COMPULSUS FRAUDE MALIGNA
 AD CHRISTUM LAETUS MIGRAVIT VECTE PEREMPTUS

ab aquilone habens ostium unum versus claustrum dominorum,
 345 in cuius superliminari plures litterae Sarrachenicae sunt appo-

318 turtures et columbas] Levit. 5, 7 (11). 319-320 et notari ... 321
 veniunt] An important personal observation added to the text taken from
 Fretellus. See also the reading in AM (321). 322 *miro tabulatu marmoreo* =
 1201 (1204). 325-327 Just the opposite (below, 361-362 and Th 538-539
 and 539-540)! 330-332 Fr 56, 1-2. 332 *sub gratia* = 81. 338 *quasi cyborei*
 (i.e. *Hii* [= *versus*: 332]): 'vault-like', like a *ciborium*. 341 Ioh. 1, 47: *ecce vere*
Israelita, in quo dolus non est. 344 ab aquilone habens] Cf. 328-329. 344 and
 436.1008.1072.1091 *dominorum* (= Th 341-342 *canonicorum*): "Chorherren".

321 orare solent veniunt TB, mane solent venire AM 325 de TB, *om.*
 AM 328 preterquam (preter *in rasura* T) quod TB, preter quod AM 330
 de tecto templi TB, templi de tecto AM 331 fuit occisus (= 1438) T, occisus
 fuit β 332 in β(Fr), *om.* T, cf. 269 337 mulctavit T, multavit β 340
 Nazarei TB, Nazareni AM 341 persona] pro sancta e persona *m. al.* T, piscator
edd. 342 pinna TM, pigna B, prima A compulsus TB, depulsus AM
 344 habens TB, habet AM ostium unum (= 329) T, unum (h)ostium β

sitae. Ibidem vero iuxta idem ostium locus illius aquae salubris, de qua propheta: *vidi aquam egredientem de latere*, et caetera. In introitu Templi versus occidentem supra in vestibulo Christi imago est, circa quam hoc continetur epygramma:

350 HAEC DOMUS MEA DOMUS ORATIONIS VOCABITUR

A meridie quoque habet ostium versus aedificium Salemonis, ab occidente etiam habet ostium versus Sepulchrum Domini, ubi et Porta Speciosa, per quam Petrus cum Iohanne transiens, respondens pauperi elemosinam petenti ab eis cum esset claudus, dixit: *argentum et aurum non est michi*, et caetera. Utrumlibet istorum duorum ostiorum, videlicet ab aquilone et ab occidente, habet sex ianuas modo valvarum coniunctas, nam illud versus meridiem habet quatuor, illud vero ad orientem tantum duas. Quodlibet autem ostiorum illorum pulchrum habet vestibulum.

360 Haec circa inferiorem parietem, sed in superiori parte eiusdem parietis, scilicet ubi musivum opus optimum appositum est, fenestrae sunt intersertae sic, quod in quolibet de octo lateribus sunt quinque, preterquam ubi sunt hostia Templi, in quibus 365 quatuor tantum continentur fenestrae, et est summa earum triginta sex. Inter istum exteriorem in circuitu parietem et interiores columpnas marmoreas et magnas, quae numero sunt duodecim et sustentant illum interiorem et strictiorem et elatiorem et penitus rotundum parietem, qui habet fenestras, subpositis etiam sibi quatuor quadratis basibus, inter hunc, inquam, et illas sunt sedecim columpnae et octo bases cum quadratis lapidibus marmoreis cum spacio octo passuum abhinc 370 et inde, sustentantes tectum medium inter exteriorem laciorem parietem et interiorem strictiorem cum pulcherrimis laqueariis,

347 propheta] Actually from the liturgy of Easter Sunday, *ad aspersionem aquae benedictae*, antiphone: *Vidi aquam egredientem de templo, a latere dextro, alleluia*: Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 537, nr. 5403. 350 See the note on Th 576-579. 353-355 Fr 56, 7-9. 355 Act. 3, 6. 361-362 See the note on lines 325-327. 374 laqueariis = Th 246] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 19, 12: *De laqueariis*. See line 1244 (cr. app.: *laqueari(bus)*).

347 de latere TB, om. AM 348-349 Christi imago est TB, est Christi ymago M, est ymago Christi A 352 occidente] cid e correctura T Domini TB, om. AM 356 alt. ab T, om. BA (-M) 357 nam ... 360 vestibulum TB, om. AM 359 ostiorum illorum B, illorum ostiorum T (-AM) 361 Haec TB, Hic AM 365 continentur fenestrae TB, fenestre continentur AM 366 et β, inter add. T, cf. 366 inter et 367 interiores 368-369 elatiorem AM et e correctura T, laciorem (= 373) B et pr. T 369 fenestras] XII ss. m² T, cf. 368 370 etiam sibi T, om. A, etiam om. BM quadratis TB, om. AM inter ... 377 exportantes TB, om. AM (370 basibus ... 372 quadratis om. B per ὁμοιοτέλευτον) 373 laciorem B, et laciorem T (-AM)

375 supra se etiam iuxta tectum locum deambulatorium circum-
 quaque exhibentibus et habentibus canales plumbeos aquam
 pluvialem exportantes. Super hunc strictiorem parietem erigitur
 in altum testudo rotundus intus depictus, foris plumbo cooper-
 tus, cui signum sanctae crucis in supremo a Christianis est
 380 appositum, quod Sarracenis est valde contrarium et multi auri
 sui dispendio vellent esse remotum. Nam licet fidem passionis
 Christi non habeant, tamen hoc Templum venerantur cum in
 eo Creatorem suum adorent, quod tamen pro idolatria habend-
 um est teste Augustino, qui asserit idolatriam esse quicquid
 385 fit preter fidem Christi.

In circuitu Templi quasi sub tecto extra continetur haec
 littera in ascensu versus occidentem:

PAX AETERNA AB AETERNO PATRE SIT HUIC DOMUI. BENE-
 DICTA GLORIA DOMINI DE LOCO SANCTO SUO

390 Versus meridiem:

BENE FUNDATA EST DOMUS DOMINI SUPRA FIRMAM PETRAM.
 BEATI QUI HABITANT IN DOMO TUA, DOMINE, IN SECU-
 LA SECULORUM LAUDABUNT TE

Versus orientem:

395 VERE DOMINUS EST IN LOCO ISTO ET EGO NESCIEBAM. IN
 DOMO TUA, DOMINE, OMNES DICENT GLORIAM

378 N.B.: *testudo* masculine. 383-385 Cf. *De Trinitate* 1, 6 (13), CC 50, p. 43, 117-118: *Unde idolatrae dicuntur qui simulacris eam servitutem exhibent quae debetur deo*; also Prosper, *Exp. Psalorum*, 134, 15, CC 68A, p. 156, 152-154: *Omnes ex quacumque natione verum deum nescientes et Christi evangelio resistentes idolorum cultores sunt*.

388-389 (= Th 545 and 554) *pax ... domui*, cf. Matth. 10, 12] Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 398, nr. 4252 (*Dedicatio ecclesiae*). *benedicta ... suo*] Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 86, nr. 1706 (*id.*). 391-393 (= Th 560 and 556) *bene ... petram*] Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 83, nr. 1680 (*Dedicatio ecclesiae*). *beati ... te*, cf. Ps. 83, 5] Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 71, nr. 1590 (*id.*). 395 (= Th 558)-396 *vere ... nesciebam*: Gen. 28, 16. *in domo ... gloriam* (= Th 552): Ps. 28, 9: *in templo eius omnes dicent gloriam*.

375 iuxta B, pr. om. sed add. m² T (-AM) tectum T, om. B (-AM) 382 Christi TB, om. AM venerantur] et add. m² T cum AM, licet e 381 add. TB 383 adorant corr. m² T 390 habent TB, om. AM 392 domine (= Ps. 83, 5) BA (Th 556), om. T (tua et cetera M): in 389-404 nomen domini iterum iterumque repetitur 394 habent TB, om. AM 395 vere TA, vere non est hic aliud nisi domus dei et porta celi (dei et cetera M) (= Gen. 28, 17) vere BM inter nesciebam et In inseruit B (-AM): Versus septentrionem (= 397) 396 tua, domine] domini Th 552

Versus septentrionem:

TEMPLUM DOMINI SANCTUM EST, DEI CULTURA EST, DEI
AEDIFICATIO EST

- 400 Intus vero in Templo in superiori linea per circuitum appositum
est in magnis litteris responsorium illud:

AUDI, DOMINE, YMNUM

cum versu suo:

RESPICE, DOMINE

- 405 et caetera.

In inferiori quoque ambitu cum aureis litteris quidam versiculi
de ymno illo *Urbs beata Iherusalem* continentur appositi. Idem
Templum sic decenter compositum et exornatum circumquaque
habet atrium latum atque planum, coniunctis lapidibus pavi-
410 mentatum et in circuitu quadratum, ad quod a tribus partibus
multis ascenditur gradibus. Est enim idem atrium ab aequalitate
terrae satis artificiose elevatum et habet ab oriente in pariete
suo latum introitum per quinque arcus, quatuor magnis co-
lumpnis sibi conexos, et hic paries sic patet versus Portam
415 Auream, per quam dominus quinto die ante passionem suam
sedens super asinam sollempniter introivit, susceptus a pueris
Hebreis cum ramis palmarum, laudantibus et dicentibus: *osanna*

398-399 (= Th 547-548) Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 504, nr. 5128 (*Dedicatio ecclesiae: aedificatio*, not *sanctificatio* as in Th 548). 402-405 See the note on Th 582-586. 407 *Analecta hymnica* 51, 1908, p. 110-112 (nr. 102); Linder, p. 114, nr. 13, and p. 118, nr. 56. - Cf. J. Szövérfy, *Die Annalen der lat. Hymnendichtung* I, 1964, p. 152-154. 415-417 Fr 60, 1-2. 416 See the critical apparatus. There is no way of deciding which of the two readings *asinam* or *asinum* is the original one. Matthew 21, 2-7 and Luke 19, 30-35 mention an *asina* and her *pullus*, but Luke makes Jesus ride the colt, and so does John 12, 15 (cf. Zachary 9, 9f). Th has both *asinam* (769) and *asino* (771), and thus follows Luke and John. The seer Balaam (cf. 544) rides an *asina* (Numbers 22, 21-35); it may also well be that the succession of words ending with *-am* (*portam Auream*, *per quam ... suam*) is responsible for the gender of the donkey in T, but I consider *asinam* to be more likely to have changed to *asinum* than vice versa. 417-418 Matth. 21, 9.

397 Versus septentrionem *hoc loco* T, post 395 nesciebam B, om. AM 399
sanctificatio Tb 548 401 responsorium illud β, illud responsorium T 404
domine] de sanctuario tuo add. B (= Tb 585, cf. 405: et caetera) 405 et
c(a)etera B et m² T, om. AM 407 ymno illo β, illo ymno T 409 atque T,
et β 409-410 pavimentatum TB, pavimentum AM 411 a qualitate T
416 asinam T, asinum β. *Vide adn.*

filio David. Quae porta ex divina dispositione, licet postea sepe Iherusalem ab hostibus esset capta et destructa, semper reman-
 420 sit integra. Haec etiam porta ob reverentiam divini et mistici introitus domini, a Bethania per Montem Oliveti Iherusalem ascendentis, intus clausa, foris lapidibus obstructa, in nullo tempore patet alicui nisi in die Palmarum, quo omni anno ob memoriam gestae rei sollempniter aperitur processioni et uni-
 425 verso populo peregrinorum sive civium, a patriarcha facto sermone in pede Montis Oliveti ad populum; finito eo die offitio iterum clauditur per totum annum ut prius, nisi in Exaltatione sanctae crucis, in qua etiam aperitur. Circa eandem portam infra muros celebris sepultura habetur mortuorum. Idem atrium
 430 a meridie habet patulum accessum per tres magnos arcus duabus columpnis marmoreis coniunctos, et in eodem latere alium habet accessum priori latiore. Ab occidente vero, versus civitatem, pulchrum habet accessum idem atrium patens per quatuor arcus, tribus columpnis marmoreis continuatis. Ab
 435 aquilone idem atrium angustatur in parte propter adiunctionem claustrum dominorum, in reliquo eiusdem lateris satis pulchram habet latitudinem et accessum; pulchra quoque et satis ampla planities a meridie et occidente, aliquantulum etiam versus septentrionem, eidem atrio forinsecus adiacet in plano.
 440 Haec descriptio prefati Templi et adiacentis loci sufficiat: pociori non invidemus.

Dominus noster cum viginti novem esset annorum et tredecim dierum – unde Lucas: *et erat incipiens quasi triginta annorum* – volens circumcisionem finire et veterem hominem aqua sanc-
 445 tificata renovare, venit in desertum ad Iohannem precursorem

419 *capta et destructa* = 31. 428-429 = 1122-1123. 436 (claustrum) *dominorum* = 344. 441 *pociori* sc. *descriptioni*. 443 Luc. 3, 23: *Et ipse Iesus erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta*. 444 *circumcisionem*] Gal. 6, 15, and *passim*. veterem hominem] Rom. 6, 6 or Coloss. 3, 9, etc. 445-448 Fr 31, 4-7. 445-446 Matth. 3, 13-16; Marc. 1, 9; Luc. 3, 21.

418 *filio David*. Quae T, benedictus et cetera. Que B, benedictus qui. Que A, benedictus. Qui M 419 esset B *et in ras.* T, sit AM 422 lapidibus obstructa TB, obstructa lapidibus AM 425 sive TB, et AM 425-426 civium, a ... populum; finito] *Sic distinxī cum codicibus* 426 offitio T, om. β 427 nisi] ss. m² va(...) *et* 428 aperitur] ss. m² aliq(ua)n(do) cat T 428 Circa ... 722 eum TB, om. AM 431 (= 434) columpnis marmoreis T, marmoreis columpnis B 432 alium habet (cf. 433.436-437.1047 *et app. cr. ad 1052*) B, habet alium T 433 idem T, id est B 437 *alt.* et B *et ss.* T *post satis rasura 1-2 litt.* T 438 etiam T, om. B 441 invidemus B, videmus (in ss.) T 442 viginti novem (cf. 443) T, XXVIII^o B 443 unde Lucas B, ut Lucas ait T

- suum et baptizatus est ab eo in Iordane, in eo loco qui distat ab Ihericho lapide tercio, ubi vox patris sui intonuit super eum, dicens: *hic est filius meus dilectus*, et caetera. Iordanis autem est fluvius qui a duobus fontibus, scilicet Ior et Dan, qui ad
 450 radicem Libani oriuntur et post longum tractum seorsum fluentes sub montibus Gelboe coniunguntur, conficitur. Spiritus quoque sanctus in eodem tempore, quando Christus baptizabatur, in specie columbae super ipsum venit, ostendens eum, non Iohannem sanctificandi aquas potestatem habere. Ibidem quoque
 455 prope, videlicet secundo lapide ab Iericho, ad sinistram est desertum quod Quarentena vocatur, in cuius quadam rupe Iesus quadraginta dierum totidemque noctium ieiunium complevit eumque ibi esurientem temptans diabolus inquit: *dic ut lapides isti panes fiant*. Secundo miliario a Quarentena contra Galileam
 460 mons excelsus ille, in quo Iesum iterum temptavit, ostendens ei omnia regna mundi, inquit: *haec omnia tibi dabo*, et caetera. Sub Quarentena fontis illius rivulus, quem beatus Heliseus, eius sanata sterilitate, de amaro potabilem reddidit. Ante Iericho secus viam cecus mendicans, audiens quod Iesus transiret, ex-
 465 clamavit: *Iesu fili David, miserere mei*, qui ab eo illuminari meruit tam exterius quam interius. Tercio lapide ab Iericho, duobus miliariis a Iordane, Bethagla, quod interpretatur 'locus gyri', eo quod ibi more plangentium circuissent funera Iacob filii eius gensque sua, referentes eum de Egipto in Ebron.
 470 Engaddi in tribu Iuda, ubi abscondit se David in solitudine, quae est in Aulone Ihericho, hoc est in regione illa campestri, de qua supra diximus. Vocatur autem vicus ille pergrandis

448 (= 73-74) Matth. 3, 17 (cf. 17, 5); Luc. 9, 35. 448-451 = 623-624.
 452-453 in specie columbae] Matth. 3, 16; Marc. 1, 10; Luc. 3, 22; Ioh. 1, 32. 454-463 Fr 73, 1-9. 457 *quadraginta ... noctium* (= 551)-459 Matth. 4, 2-3. 460-461 Matth. 4, 8-9. 462-463 4 Reg. 2, 19-22. 463-466 Fr 72, 6-8. 464-466 Marc. 10, 46-52; Luc. 18, 35-43. 466-469 Fr 23, 1-3.
 467-469 Thiel, *Grundlagen*, p. 265 (Gen. 50, 12-13). 470-474 Fr 23, 3-6 and 70, 13; J. Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1988, p. 62. 471 *Aulone* (= 626): αὐλὼν, a hollow or defile. Cf. Jerome, *Hebr. quaest.* (Gen. 21, 31), CC 72, p. 26, 7: *in Aulone Mamre*. 472 *supra*: 454ff.

447 ab T, a B. Cf. *app. cr. ad 455* sui T, om. B 447-448 super eum dicens T, om. B 448 dilectus T, om. B 450 fluentes *corr. Tobler*, fluentibus (cf. 449 fontibus et 451 montibus) TB 451 coniunguntur T, et *add.* B 452 tempore T, om. B 455 ab T, a B. Cf. *app. cr. ad 447* ad sinistram T(Fr), a sinistra B 457 dierum T(Fr), om. B 459 fiant TB(Fr): et cetera *add. m²* T 461 et caetera T, si cadens adoraveris me B 463 reddidit B(Fr) et e reddit *corr.* T 467 a (= 603) B, ab T 468 more B et e mora *corr.* T 469 referentes T(Fr), deferentes B 470 abscondit se B(Fr), se abscondit T 472 pergrandis e *correctura* T, pervidis (? perviridis?) e pergidis ut videtur B

Iudeorum Engaddi iuxta Mare Mortuum, unde et opobalsamum oriri solebat et afferri, unde et *vineae Engaddi* nuncupantur.

475 Octavo miliario a Nazareth contra Carmelum Kara mons, ad radicem cuius iuxta fontem Lamech pater Noe sagitta sua peremit Cain arcumque suo ducem suum. Unde furore repletus et ira ait: *occidi virum in vulnus meum et adolescentulum in livorem meum*, et caetera. De Kain dominus predixerat: *omnis*

480 *qui occiderit Cain septuplum punietur*. Tercio miliario a Kairam monte mons Carmeli, de quo in Canticis Canticorum: *collum tuum ut Carmelus*, in quo per plurimum tempus conversari voluit beatus Helias eiusque discipulus cum eo beatus Helyseus. Sexto miliario a Nazareth contra Genuinum Gerlicus, in quo

485 Iheu rex Israel percussit Oziam regem Iudaeae. Sextodecimo miliario a Nazareth contra orientem supra Mare Galileae Gergessa, viculus ille, in quo Salvator eos qui a demonibus vexabantur sanitati restituit, ex quo et mari porcorum precipitium subiecit. Sextodecimo miliario a monte Carmeli contra meridiem Cesarea

490 Palestinae metropolis, ex qua Cornelius centurio, quem in ea baptizavit beatus Petrus et creavit episcopum. In qua et Turris Strathonis, in qua Herodes contra adventum Augusti Caesaris construxit de albo marmore portum. Ipse Herodes turrim, quae Ierosolimam supereminet, quae et Turris David dicitur, Iosepho

495 attestante fabricavit eamque vocavit Antoniam.

474 Cant. Cant. 1, 13. 475-479 Fr 73, 10-13. 475 Kara cf. 480 (Kaim Fretellus). 478-479 Gen. 4, 23. 479-480 Gen. 4, 15. 480-483 Fr 74, 1-3. 480 Kairam] See 475. 481-482 Cant. Cant. 7, 4-5: *collum tuum* sicut turris eburnea ... caput tuum *ut Carmelus*. 484-485 Fr 41, 5-6. 484 Gerlicus mistaken for Ger, locus (Fretellus 41, 5); cf. 1276. 486-488 Fr 35, 13-16 (Matth. 8, 28-33). 488 sanitati restituit = 1412. 489-491 Fr 74, 7-8. 490 Cornelius centurio] Act. 10. 491-493 Fr 74, 12-14. 493-495 Fr 75, 1-2. 494 Iosepho: (Latin version of) *Antiquitates* 15, 292 (Loeb).

473 unde ... 474 afferri T(Fr), om. B 474 nuncupantur B(Fr), nuncupabantur T 476 Noe T(Fr), qui add. B sagitta sua B(Fr), sua sagitta T 479 livorem meum T(Fr), furore (= 477) meo B 479-480 Kain ... Cain e Kam ... Cam corr. T, Caym vero ... Caym B predixerat T, preceperat B 480 Kairam T, Cain B 482-483 conversari voluit B(Fr), voluit conversari T 483 discipulus ... Heliseus B(Fr), discipulus Helyseus cum eo T 484 Genuinum T(Fr), Geminum B. Cf. app. cr. ad 102.106.107 486-487 Gergessa T(Fr), regressa B 488 precipitium T(Fr), precipuum B 489 a ... meridiem T, contra meridiem a monte Carmeli B Cesarea T, Cesaria B 490 Palestinae correcti: Palestina TB, cf. S 585 492 Strathonis T, Stratonis B Cesaris (Fr), .c. (= 108) B, om. T 494 Ierosolimam supereminet T(Fr), supereminet Ierosolimis B quae et T(Fr), et. que B 495 fabricavit (Fr) ... Attoniam (sic) B, qui ait: turrim fabricavit eamque Antoniam vocavit T

Ex altera parte Iherusalem, aliquantulum versus meridiem, est civitas Hebron, quae quondam erat metropolis Philistinorum et habitaculum gigancium, distans a sancta civitate per dietam unam, et erat in tribu Iuda civitas illa sacerdotalis et fugitivorum, sita scilicet in agro illo, in quo plasmator omnium patrem nostrum Adam plasmavit et inspiravit. Hebron Kariath Iarbe dicitur, quod sarrachenice sonat 'Civitas quarta': *cariath* civitas, *arba* quarta, eo quod quatuor patres illi reverendi in spelunca duplici in ea sepulti fuere, Adam, Abraham, Ysaac et Iacob et eorum uxores quatuor Eva, mater nostra, Sara, Rebecca, Lya. Est autem Hebron iuxta Vallem Lacrimarum sita. Vallis Lacrimarum dicta est eo, quod centum annis in ea luxit Adam filium suum Abel. In qua postea monitus ab angelo cognovit uxorem suam, ex qua genuit filium suum Seth, de cuius tribu Christus erat oriundus. Secundo miliario ab Ebron sepultura Loth nepotis Abraham. In Hebron habetur ager quidam Gebal, gleba cuius rubea est, quae ab incolis effoditur et comeditur et per Egiptum venalis asportatur, quae pro specie carissima venditur. Predictus ager in quantum late et profunde effossus est, in tantum dei dispositione anno finito redintegratus reperitur. Iuxta Hebron mons Mambre, ad radicem cuius therebintus illa quae 'dirps' vocatur, id est ylex aut quercus. Secus quam per multum temporis mansit Abraham, sub qua tres angelos vidit et unum adoravit hospicioque susceptos prout dignius potuit fovit et

497-498 Fr 7, 1-2 (cf. Num. 13, 34: *Ibi vidimus monstra quaedam filiorum Enac de genere giganteo, quibus comparati quasi locustae videbamur*; 2 Reg. 23, 13: *castra ... Philistinorum erant posita in valle gigantum*). 499 in tribu Iuda] Ios. 21, 9-13.

499-500 civitas ... fugitivorum] Num. 35, 9-15 (Hebron: Ios. 21, 13). 499-501 Fr 7, 2-5. 500-501 patrem nostrum Adam = 1076-1077. 501-513 Fr 8, 1-12. 501-502 Ios. 14, 15. 502 sarrachenice sonat = 634-635. civitas quarta] Thiel, *Grundlagen*, p. 274. 503-505 Gen. 49, 31. 513-515 Fr 8, 13-14. 515-528 Fr 9, 1-11. 518-519 (= Th 1177) et unum adoravit] This has also been taken from Fretellus (9, 3) who himself had found it in Augustine's *Contra Maximinum haereticum ep. Arianum* 2, 7 (MPL 42, 809). Cf. Gen. 18, 2: ... *apparuerunt ei tres viri ...* (3) *Et dixit: Domine ...*

497 quondam (olim Fr) erat T, erat quedam B 498 civitate T, Ierusalem (= 496) add. B 500 scilicet B et ss. T 500-501 patrem nostrum Adam T(Fr), om. B 501 Kariath Iarbe T, Kariantarbe B 503 arba TB, i(arba) ss. T 504 sepulti fuere B(Fr), fuere sepulti T 507 in ea luxit T(Fr), luxit in ea B Adam post luxit (= Fr) in margine inseruit T, post annis habet B 508 postea monitus B(Fr), monitus postea T 511 gleba cuius (gleba eius Fr) (cf. 516) B, cuius gleba T 512 comeditur T(Fr), comederunt B 513 asportatur T(Fr), asperatur B venditur T, emitur Fr, venderunt (sic) B 514 effossus T(Fr), effusus B 516 Mambre T, meambre corr. B radicem cuius (cf. 511) B(Fr), cuius radicem T 518 temporis T(Fr), tempus B 519 susceptos B(Fr), suscepto T

520 pavit, unde et *prima credendi via* dictus est. Ylex predicta extunc usque ad tempus Theodosii imperatoris testante Iheronimo suum esse dilatavit et ex illa haec fuisse perhibetur, quae in presenti ab illic presentibus videtur et cara tenetur. Quae, licet arida, medicabilis tamen esse probatur in hoc, quod si
 525 equitans quis de ea aliquid quamdiu secum detulerit, animal suum non infunditur. In Hebron primo applicuerunt se causa explorandae terrae promissionis Iosue et Caleph et eorum socii decem; in Hebron regnavit David annis septem et dimidium.

Decimo miliario ab Hebron Lacus Aspaltidis contra orientem,
 530 qui et Mare Mortuum – vere ‘mortuum’, quia nichil vivum recipit – et Mare Diaboli, quod instinctu eius quatuor illae civitates miserrimae Sodoma, Gomorra, Sephon, Adama, perseverantes in turpitudine sua, igne sulphureo concrematae in lacum illum subversae sunt. Supra lacum in accubitu Iudeae
 535 Segor, quae et Bala vel Zara dicitur, quinta de civitatibus illis, precibus Loth de subversione reservata, quae usque nunc ostenditur et modo Palmaria dicitur. In exitu Segor uxor Loth in salis effigiem mutata fuit, cuius adhuc apparent vestigia. Supra

520 Prudentius, *Psychom.* praef. 1-2: *Senex fidelis, prima credendi via / Abram, beati seminis serus pater ...* 521-522 testante Iheronimo (= Th 1178-1179): cf. *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* (“De distantibus locorum”), MPL 23, 907A: *et quercus Abraham, quae et Mamre, usque ad Constantii regis imperium monstrabatur*, and 936C: *Drys* (= 516 and Th 1176) *id est quercus Mamre iuxta Cbebron, quae usque ad aetatem infantiae meae [= Ps.-Hieronymus] et Constantii regis imperium terebinthus monstrabatur pervetus et annos magnitudine indicans, sub qua habitavit Abraham.* The indication Theodosii imperatoris has been taken from Fretellus (9, 5). 523 *ab illic presentibus* = 674.

524-525 *si ... quamdiu*: contamination of two constructions (either *si* or *quamdiu*), cf. Fretellus (9, 8-9): *si aliquid de ea equitans quisquam diu* (but *quis quamdiu* in the critical apparatus) *secum detulerit ...* 526 (= Th 1182) *non infunditur*: “won’t founder”. 526-528 Num. 13, 2-17 and 32, 8. 528 Fr 9, 13 (2 Reg. 2, 11 and 5, 5). 529-534 Fr 10, 1-5. 531-534 Deut. 29, 23: *in exemplum subversionis Sodomae et Gomorrhae, Adamae et Seboim ...* (Gen. 19, 24-25).

534-535 Fr 11, 3-4. 535 Gen. 14, 8: *rex Balae, quae est Segor.* Cf. *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum*, l.c. (ad 521-522), 924B: *Bala, quae est Segor, nunc Zoara* (= Fr 11, 4) *nuncupatur.* Cf. Th 1199: *Cara.* 536-537 Fr 11, 7-8. 536 Gen. 19, 18-23. 537-541 Fr 11, 8-11. 537-538 Gen. 19, 26.

522 *ante suum erasum est sinum* (?) T haec T(Fr), hoc B 524 tamen T(Fr), om. B 525 *quamdiu hoc loco* T (cf. Fr), *post detulerit* B 526 applicuerunt T(Fr), om. B 529 Aspaltidis T, Aspaladis B. Cf. *app. cr. ad 110* 532 Sephon T, Sephion B (Seboim Fr) Adama T(Fr), Adamia B 533 concrematae Fr et e concremata est corr. B, concremante T 534 illum subversae T(Fr), illud submerse B lacum B(Fr), locum T 536 de subversione T(Fr), om. B 538 mutata fuit B(Fr), fuit mutata T

ripam maris predicti multum aluminis multumque kateramii
 540 ab incolis reperitur et colligitur et ex mari bitumen extrahitur,
 quod 'Iudaicum' appellatur, multis necessarium. Segor autem
 modo a compatriotis Oppidum Palmae vocatur. Supra Lacum
 Aspaltidis in descensu Arabiae Karnaim spelunca in monte
 Moabitarum, in quem Balach filius Behor divinum Balaam
 545 adduxit ad maledicendum filios Israel, qui propter vehemens
 preruptum 'Excisus' vocatur. Lacus Aspaltidis Iudeam dividit
 et Arabiam. Arabia tempore filiorum Israel solitudo erat, de-
 sertum, heremus, terra invia et inaquosa; in ea quidem detinuit
 eos dominus annis quadraginta, manna pluens illis ad mandu-
 550 candum, aqua de rupe producta. In Arabia mons Synai, in quo
 Moyses quadraginta diebus totidemque noctibus totius cibi
 expers moratus fuit, in quo dominus Moysi legem dedit proprio
 digito suo scriptam in tabulis lapideis. In Arabia Vallis Moysi,
 in qua percussit bis silicem, duos aquae populo dei rivulos
 555 reddentem, de quibus modo tota illa irrigatur patria. In Arabia
 precessit filios Israel columpna ignis per noctem, nubes vero
 eos vallavit diebus singulis; in Arabia Helim, ubi filii Israel
 castra sunt metati, scilicet locus in deserto, ubi duodecim fontes
 et septuaginta palmas de Mari Rubro exeuntes reppererunt; in
 560 Arabia quadraginta mansiones filiorum Israel; in Arabia mons
 Oreb, in quo sepultus Aaron requiescit; in Arabia mons Abarym,

541-542 Fr 11, 12 (cf. Deut. 34, 3: ... *Iericho civitatis palmarum usque Segor*).

543-545 Fr 21, 3-4 (Num. 22, 1-35; Balaam, not Balac, was the son of
 Beor). 543 Karnaim] 1 Macc. 5, 26 and 43-44. 545-546 Fr 21, 8-9
 (Abscisus). 546-547 Fr 11, 12-13. 547-549 Fr 12, 1-3. 547-548 Ps.
 62, 3: *in terra deserta et invia et inaquosa*. 550-553 Fr 15, 2-5. 551 quadraginta
 ... noctibus (= 457) Ex. 24, 18 and 34, 28. 552-553 Ex. 31, 18; Deut. 9,
 10. 553-555 Fr 18, 10-12 (Num. 20, 11). 555-557 Fr 13, 7-9. 556-
 557 Ex. 13, 21-22. 557-559 Fr 13, 15. 558-559 Ex. 15, 27; Num. 33,
 9. 560-561 Num. 20, 25-29 and 33, 38 (*mons Hor Th 1099*). 561 *sepultus*
 ... *requiescit* cf. 175. 561-563 Fr 20, 14-16 (Deut. 32, 48-49 and 34, 5-6).

539 multum ... multumque B(Fr), multumque ... et multum T kateramii
 B (cf. Fr et Tb 1206), chatamni T 540 et ex T(Fr), et om. B 541 necessarium
 T(Fr), negocium B. Cf. Tb 1205 543 Aspaltidis T, Aspaladis B. Cf. app. cr.
 ad 110 Karnaim in margine T, om. B 544 Balach T(Fr), Balac B Behor
 T, Beor B divinum in margine T, om. B 545 vehemens T(Fr), vehemente
 B 546 Excisus TB, s (= Excissus) ss. T Aspaltidis T, Aspaladis B. Cf. app.
 cr. ad 110 547 sollicitudo TB, corr. T(Fr) 549 annis quadraginta T(Fr),
 .XL. annis B 554 silicem T(Fr), scilicem B 555 irrigatur patria T, patria
 irrigatur B 556 columpna T(Fr), om. B 557 eos vallavit T, vallavit eos B
 557-558 ubi ... metati T, ubi castra filii Israel metarunt B 559 palm(a)e
 TB, corr. T reppererunt B, repperierunt T 561 Oreb T, obreb B 561
 mons ... 563 Arabia T, per ὁμοιοτέλευτον om. B

in quo dominus Moysen sepelivit, eius tamen nusquam appa-
 rente tumulo; in Arabia Mons ille Regalis, quem domnus Bald-
 winus primus rex Francorum in Iherusalem ad terram illam
 565 Christicolis subiug<andam aedific>avit et ad tuendum regnum
 David firmum reddidit.

Arabia iungitur Ydumeae in finibus Bostron, Ydumea terra
 Damasci, Ydumea tamen sub Siria, caput Syriae quidem Da-
 mascus. Ydumeam et Feniciam dividit Lybanus, Fenicia in qua
 570 Sors, id est Tyrus, Fenicum nobilissima civitas metropolis quae
 Christum perambulante in maritima, ut Syri asserunt, recipere
 noluit. Quae et divina testante pagina martyres deo reddidit,
 quorum eius solius scientia numerum collegit; Tyrus Origenem
 tumultatum celat. Ante Tyrum lapis ille marmoreus haut mo-
 575 dicus, super quem sedit Iesus, illesus a tempore Christi usque
 ad expulsionem gentium ab urbe, sed postinde fractus a Francis
 et Veneticis. Supra vero residuum illius lapidis in honore Sal-
 vatoris aeclesia quaedam constructa est. Octavo miliario a
 Tyro contra orientem supra mare Sarphen, quod est Sarepta
 580 Sydoniae, in quo quondam habitavit Helias propheta. In quo
 resuscitavit filium viduae, Ionam videlicet, quae et eum hospi-
 tata fuerat et caritate foverat et paverat. Sexto miliario a
 Sarphen Sydon egregia civitas, ex qua Dido, quae Cartaginem

563-566 Fr 24, 3-6. 565 aedificavit] A.D. 1115. 567 Fr 24, 9. 568-
 569 = 592. 569 Fr 25, 4. 569-578 Fr 25, 5-12. 572 noluit] Cf. Th
 1570. 572-573 Martyrology of Usuard, ed. J. Dubois, 1965, p. 184 (20
 February): *Apud Tyrum civitatem, beatorum martyrum, quorum numerum solius dei scientia
 colligit.* 573-574 Cf. William of Tyre 13, 1, 82-87, CCCM 63, p. 586. 576-
 577 a Francis et Veneticis] Certainly not by Germans (cf. 1127ff. and 1337-
 1338). Fretellus (25, 11) had already blamed the two peoples (*fractus*) *defraudatus*
 Fretellus (= "Innominatus VI" [above, introduction note 10], p. 417, 5) but
 Boeren mentions a variant *defractus*). 578-584 Fr 26, 7-12. 580-582 3
 Reg. 17, 9-24. 581 Ionam videlicet] Cf. Jerome, *In Ionam*, prologue, ed.
 Duval, *Sources chrétiennes* 323, 1985, p. 162/164, 37-39, and CC 76, p. 378, 35-
 37: *Tradunt autem Hebraei hunc esse filium viduae Sareptanae quem Helias propheta mortuum
 suscitavit.* See also Th 1598.

563-564 Baldwinus T, Balduinus (= 1151) B 564 post Iherusalem rasura
 2 litt. T ad T, om. B 565 subiugandam aedificavit *coneci*, subiugavit TB
 (ad Arabiam Christicolis subiugandam ... reddidit Fr), cf. 672, *app. cr.*: periclitari
 sperantibus] periclitantibus B 568 quidem B et e quidam T 569 in qua
 T(Fr), inquam (cf. 580) B 572 noluerunt TB, *corr.* T(Fr) 573 Origenem
 ex originem *corr.* T, Origenes B 574 haut T, aut B 578 quaedam T(Fr),
 om. B 579-580 Sarphen ... Sydoniae T(Fr), quod est Sarepta Sydonie Sarfen
 est B 580 *pr.* in quo T, inquam (cf. 569) B Helyas propheta B(Fr), propheta
 Helias (*addito sed deleto* in quo habitavit quondam propheta Helias) T In quo
 T(Fr), et in ea B 581 et eum *scripsi cum* Fr, cum eo TB 581-582 hospitata
 fuerat B(Fr), fuerat hospitata T 583 Sarphen T, Sersen B

construxit in Affrica, sextodecimo miliario a Sydone Berithus
 585 opulentissima civitas. In Beritho quaedam Salvatoris nostri
 yconia non multum post passionem eius ad ignominiam eius a
 quibusdam Iudeis ridiculose crucifixa sanguinem produxit et
 aquam, unde et multi in vero crucifixo crediderunt baptizati.
 Quicumque etiam ex stilla yconiae peruncti, a quacumque
 590 gravarentur infirmitate sani reddebantur.

Arphat urbs Damasci. Damascus in Syria, de qua Historia:
Damascus caput Syriae, reverenda metropolis. In ea Damascus
 construxit Heliezer servus Abrahae in agro illo, in quo Cain
 fratrem suum occidit Abel. Damascus habitavit Esau, qui et
 595 Seyr et Edom: Seyr 'pilosus', Edom 'rubeus' vel 'rufus'. Ab Edom
 tota terra illa vocatur Ydumea, de qua in psalmo: *in Ydumeam*
extendam calciamentum meum. Est autem Edom vocata, unde
 propheta: *quis est iste qui venit de Edom tinctis vestibus de*
Bosra? Est autem quaedam pars illius terrae Hus, ex qua beatus
 600 Iob, quae et Sueta, a qua Baldac Suites; in qua et Thema
 metropolis in Ydumea, ex Thema Eliphaz Themanites; in qua
 Naaman oppidum, a quo Sophar Naamatites, hii tres consola-
 tores Iob. In Ydumeae finibus, secundo miliario a Iordane,
 fluvius Iacob, quo transvadato a Iacob cum a Mesopotamia

584-590 (= Th 1578-1592) Fr 27, 1-6 (BHL 4227-4230). 587-588
 sanguinem ... aquam] Ioh. 19, 34. 589-590 *Quicumque ... a quacumque ... reddebantur*
 (cf. Ioh. 5, 4) = 1407-1409. 591-592 Fr 25, 2-3. 592 (= 568-569) Is. 7,
 8. 592-599 Fr 28, 1-8. 592-593 Cf. Gen. 15, 2. 593-594 (Th 1544-
 1545) Jerome, *In Hiezechielem* 8, 27, 18, CC 75, p. 373, 1174-1177: ... *Damascus*
interpretatur 'sanguinem bibens', et Hebraeorum vera traditio est, campum in quo interfectus
est Abel a parricida Cain fuisse in Damasco. 594-595 Gen. 25, 29-30: *Esau ...*
vocatum est nomen eius Edom, and 36, 8: *Habitavitque Esau in monte Seir: ipse est Edom.*
 Seyr pilosus] Jerome, *Interpr.* p. 72, 27-28 and 84, 17-18; Edom rubeus vel
 rufus] *Ibid.* p. 65, 24 (*rufus sive terrenus*). Thiel, *Grundlagen*, p. 413 and 291-292.
 596-597 Ps. 59, 10 and 107, 10. 598-599 Is. 63, 1. 599-603 Fr 33,
 12-15 (Iob 1, 1 and 2, 11). 603-606 Fr 28, 10-12 (Gen. 32, 22-28). 604
 (cf. Th 1553) fluvius Iacob] See the introduction, p. 24.

584 Affrica T, Africa B ... sextodecimo T(Fr), decimo B 584-585 Berithus
 ... Beritho T, Berinthus ... Berintho B 585 opulentissima T(Fr), nobilissima
 (cf. 570) B 586 multum post B(Fr), post multum T ad ignominiam eius
 T(Fr), om. B 586 a ... 587 sanguinem T(Fr), rudiculose (*sic*) crucifixa a
 quibusdam Iudeis, que sanguinem B 589 ex stilla yconiae T(Fr), ex illa
 yconia B 591 Arphat T, Arfat B 593 Abrahae T, Abrae B 594 Abel
in margine T(Fr), om. B 595 pilosus B(Fr), et *add.* T 597 meum B(Fr), et
 caetera *add.* T 598-599 tinctis ... Bosra T(Fr), et cetera B 599 illius B *et*
in margine T 600 Baldac Suites T, balda stites B 602 Naaman B(Fr),
 Naamon T Sophar Naamatites T, Sophor Naamathithes B 603 In T(Fr),
 om. B. Cf. 124, *app. cr.* 604 transvadato T(Fr), transvadatum B

- 605 rediret luctatus est cum angelo, qui de Iacob nomen ei mutavit in Israel. In Ydumea mons Seyr, sub quo Damascus. Secundo miliario a Damasco locus in quo Saulo Christus apparuit, dicens: *Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris?* In quo Saulum non modica claritas de caelo circumfulsit. In Damasco baptizavit Saulum
610 Ananias, nomen ei Paulum imponens. De muris Damasci demissus fuit Paulus, persecutorum veritus rabiem.

Lybanus interpretatur 'candidacio', de quo in Canticis Canticorum: *veni de Lybano, columba mea*. Ad radicem Lybani oriuntur Farfar et Abbana fluvii Damasci. Montes Lybani et
615 planicies Archados transfuit Abbana, Mari Magno se copulans finibus illis, in quibus beatus Eustachius ab uxore sua privatus et a filiis desolatus recessit; Farfar per Siriam tendit in Anthiochiam labensque secus muros eius decimo miliario ab Anthiochia in portu Solim, Portu scilicet Sancti Symeonis,
620 Mediterraneo Mari se commendat. In Anthiochia sedit beatus Petrus apostolus septem annis pontificali decoratus infula.

Ad radicem Lybani Paneas civitas sita est, Belinas quae et Cesarea Philippi. Ad radicem Lybani oriuntur Ior et Dan fontes illi duo, de quibus sub montibus Gelboe Iordanis conficitur. A
625 montibus Gelboe usque ad Lacum Aspaltidis vallis, per quam Iordanis labitur, Gortus appellatur; *Aulon*, quod hebreum vocabulum est, appellatur Vallis illa Grandis atque Campestris,

606 Fr 28, 8. 606-610 Fr 28, 13-16. 607-611 Act. 9, 1-25 and 13, 9. 608 Act. 9, 4 (22, 7 and 26, 14). 608-609 *Ibidem* 9, 3. 610-611 Fr 28, 17-18. 612-613 Fr 29, 1-2. 612 (cf. 659-660) candidacio] Thiel, *Grundlagen*, p. 342. 613 Cant. Cant. 4, 8: *Veni de Libano* (see below, 659), *sponsa mea, veni de Libano ...*; 2, 10 and 5, 2: *columba mea*. 613-620 Fr 29, 4-9. 614 4 Reg. 5, 12. 616 *finibus illis* = 124. *ab uxore ... privatus*] Cf. 215-216. 620-621 Fr 30, 7-8. 622-624 Fr 31, 1-4. 622-623 Matth. 16, 13; Marc. 8, 27. 623-624 = 448-451. 624-629 Fr 32, 1-4. 626-627 The structure of the phrase is slightly different from that in Fretellus. Cf. 471, and Th 1446-1447: *per Vallem quas appellatur Campestris sive Grandis* (cf. Th 1077; Ier. 21, 13: *vallis solidae atque campestris*).

605-606 de ... Israel T(Fr), Iacob nomen ei mutavit Israel B 608 Saulum T(Fr), Saulo (= 607) B modica B(Fr), modicum T 609 claritas de caelo T(Fr), de celo claritas B 610 Paulum B(Fr), Paulus T 610-611 demissus B(Fr), dimissus T 614 Montes B(Fr), Sed montes T 614-615 (= 729) Abbana ... Abbana T, Abbana ... Albana B (Albana ... Albana Fr, Th 1559.1560) 615 mari magno se B(Fr), magno se mari T 616 Eustachius T, Eustasius B ab T(Fr), a B privatus T(Fr), om. B 617 a T(Fr), om. B 619 Symeonis T, Simonis B 621 decoratus infula T (sublimatus infula Fr), infula decoratus B 623-624 fontes illi duo B(Fr), illi duo fontes T 625 Aspaltidis T, Aspaladis B. Cf. *app. cr. ad* 110 626-627 vocabulum est B(Fr), est vocabulum T 627 appellatur B(Fr), et add. T *post illa deletum est quae* (= Fr) T.

quae ex utraque parte vallatur montibus continuis a Lybano
 usque ad desertum Pharan. Dividit autem Iordanis Galileam et
 630 Ydumeam et terram Bostron, quae et Ydumeae secunda me-
 tropolis. Iordanis 'descensus' interpretatur. Dan fere ab ortu suo
 subterraneum ducit gurgitem suum usque Medan planiciem
 illam, in qua satis patenter suum foras remittit alveum. Planicies
 illa 'Medan' vocatur eo, quod Dan in illa medius est; sarrachenice
 635 quidem sonat platea illa *medan*, latine vero 'platea'. *Forum* vero
 vocatur Medan eo, quod intrante aestate innumerabilis ibi po-
 pulus, secum omnia deferens venalia, convenit ingensque Par-
 thorum et Arabum multitudo ad tuendum populum et ad
 pascendos greges suos in pascuis illis per totam aestatem de-
 640 moratur. Medan componitur ex *med* et *dan*: med sarrachenice
 'aqua', dan 'fluvius'. Ex planicie predicta Dan se reddens in
 fluvium Suetam peragrat, in qua pyramis beati Iob superstes
 adhuc a regibus et gentibus sollempnis habetur. Dan contra
 Galileam gentium se obliquans sub urbe Cedar, secus medicabilia
 645 balnea Spineti plana transfluens Ior copulatur, Ior haut longe
 a Paneas lacum illius reddit ex se, postea Mare Galileae sumens
 exordium inter Bethsaidam et Capharnaum. A Bethsaida Petrus
 et Andreas, Iacobus Alpei et Iohannes. Sexto miliario a Beth-
 saida Corozaim, in qua Antichristus seductor orbis nutritur.

629-631 Fr 32, 7-9. 631 Thiel, *Grundlagen*, p. 333. 631-643 Fr 33, 1-
 11. 632 *subterraneum ducit gurgitem suum* = 733. 634-635 sarrachenice ...
 sonat = 502. 635 platea ... platea] The first *platea*, which JW took from
 Fretellus (33, 4), may well be a corruption of *planicies*. The printed text of
 Fretellus is even less certain than mine. 636-640 Cf. William of Tyre 16,
 9, CCCM 63A, p. 726, 13-16: in *planiciem* ... *que dicitur Medan, ubi singulis annis*
Arabum et aliorum Orientalium populorum solent nundine convenire sollempnes. 643 Cf.
 Baruch 6, 50: *ab universis gentibus et regibus*; Act. 9, 15: *coram gentibus et regibus*.
 643-648 Fr 33, 16-20. 644 Galileam gentium] See the note on lines 676-
 677. 647-648 (cf. 63) Ioh. 1, 44: *Erat autem Philippus a Bethsaida civitate Andreae*
et Petri (cf. 12, 21). Of John and James no particulars are mentioned (cf. Matth.
 10, 2-4). Cf. Th 1462-1464 and 1534-1535. 648-653 Fr 34, 1-6. 649 2
 Ioh. 7: *hic est seductor et Antichristus*.

628 montibus continuis B(Fr), continuis montibus T 630 Bostron T,
 Bastron B Ydumeae T, Idumea B 631 Iordanis T, Iordanus B 632
 subterraneum T(Fr), subterraneo B usque B(Fr), usque ad T 633 in qua
 T(Fr), om. B 634 in B(Fr), et T 639-640 demoratur T(Fr), demorantur
 B 643 sollempnis T(Fr), superstes *repetit* B 647-648 Petrus et Andreas
 (Fr, *Tb* 1463, et *infra* 669-670), Iacobus Alpei et Iohannes B, Petrus et Iohannes
 (= 70-71.74.353), Andreas et Iacobus Alpei T 648-649 a Bethsaida in *marginē*
 T(Fr), om. B 649 antichristus seductor orbis nutritur T, nutritur antichristus
 seductor orbis Fr, antichristus nutritur seductor (e seductoribus *corr.*) orbis B

650 De Corozaim et Bethsaida ait Iesus: *ve tibi, Corozaim, ve tibi, Bethsaida*. Sexto miliario a Corozaim Cedar excellentissima civitas, de qua in psalmo: *habitavi cum habitantibus Cedar*. Cedar interpretatur 'in tenebris'.

Capharnaum, in dextera maris, civitas centurionis, in qua
 655 sanavit Iesus filium centurionis, de quo ipse ait: *non inveni tantam fidem in Israel*. In Capharnaum multa signa fecit Iesus, docens in synagoga. Capharnaum 'villa pulcherrima' interpretatur vel 'filia pulchritudinis', quae nobis significat sanctam aecclesiam, ad quam cuncti qui de Lybano veniunt, id est de
 660 candore virtutum, ab ea et in ea lucidiores redduntur. Secundo miliario a Capharnaum descensus illius montis est, in quo dominus sermocinatus est ad turbas et instruxit apostolos suos docens eos, in quo et leprosum curavit. Miliario a descensu illo locus, in quo pavit quinque milia hominum ex quinque panibus
 665 et duobus piscibus, unde locus ille 'Mensa' vocatur quasi locus refectionis, cui locus subiacet ille, in quo Christus post resurrectionem suam discipulis suis apparuit, comedens cum eis partem piscis assi supra mare quod idem dominus sicco pede perambulavit, cum circa quartam noctis vigiliam Petro et Andree piscantibus apparuit, ubi et Petro supra mare ad eum ire
 670 volenti et mergenti ait Iesus: *modicae fidei, quare dubitasti?* Ubi et alia vice discipulis suis periclitari sperantibus mare quietum reddidit. In sinistro capite maris, montis in concavo, Genesareth,

650-651 Matth. 11, 21; Luc. 10, 13. 652 Ps. 119, 5. 652-653 Jerome, *Interpr.* p. 63, 6-7 and 119, 13-14: *tenebrae vel moeror*; p. 130, 5: *tristis vel tenebrae*.
 654-660 Fr 34, 7-12. 654-656 Matth. 8, 5-10 (Luc. 7, 1-10). 656 Ioh. 11, 47: *multa signa facit*; 20, 30: *multa quidem et alia signa fecit Iesus* ... 657-658 *villa pulcherrima*: Jerome, *In Matthaeum* (11, 23), CC 77, p. 85, 228 (*filia pulcherrima vel filia pulchritudinis* Fretellus 34, 10). Cf. Thiel, *Grundlagen*, p. 273. 659-660 cuncti qui ... candore] Cf. 612-613. 660-673 Fr 35, 1-12. 661-663 Matth. 5, 1-7, 29. 663 Matth. 8, 1-3; Marc. 1, 40-42; Luc. 5, 12-13. 664-665 Matth. 14, 16-21 and Marc. 6, 37-44. 666-668 Luc. 24, 36-43. 668-671 Matth. 14, 24-31. 671-673 Matth. 8, 23-27 (Marc. 4, 36-40). 673-681 Fr 36, 1-8.

650-651 *ve ... ve ... Bethsaida* T(Fr), *ve tibi be(thsaida)*, *ve tibi Corrozaïm* B 652 *qua* T(Fr), *quo* B 654 *civitas* T(Fr), *om.* B in ... 655 *centurionis* T(Fr), *per ὁμοιοτέλευτον om.* B 655 *de quo ipse* T (cf. Fr); *quod* B 657 *villa B et e correctura* T 659 *Lybano* T(Fr), *libero* B 660 *redduntur* T(Fr), *fiunt* B 662 *apostolos* T(Fr), *ad populos* B 663 *Miliario* T(Fr), *Uno miliario* B 664 *locus* B(Fr), *est locus* T 668 *assi* T(Fr), *acsi* B 671 *dubitasti* T(Fr), *et cetera* B 671-672 *Ubi et* B(Fr), *et ubi* T 672 *discipulis suis* B(Fr), *suis discipulis* T *periclitari sperantibus* T(Fr), *periclitantibus* B, cf. *app. cr. ad 565*

locus generans auram, quod adhuc ab illic presentibus sentitur.
 675 Secundo miliario a Genesareth Magdalum oppidum, a quo Maria
 Magdalena. Haec autem regio 'Galilea gentium', in tribu Zabulon
 et Neptalim; in superioribus huius Galileae viginti fuere civi-
 tates, quas rex Salomon Yram regi Tyri amico suo dono dedit.
 Secundo miliario a Magdalo Chyneret civitas, quae et Tiberiadis
 680 a Tiberio Cesare cognominata, quam in iuventute sua Iesus
 frequentare solebat. Quarto miliario a Tyberiae Bethulia ci-
 vitas, ex qua Iudith, quae pro gente sua salvanda satis astute
 peremit Holofernem in obsidione urbis. Quarto miliario a Ti-
 beriae contra meridiem Dothaim, in quo Ioseph fratres suos
 685 greges pascentes repperit, quem et ibi Ismahelitis habentes odio
 vendiderunt.

Ante portam Iherusalem quae respicit ad occasum, qua parte
 liberata fuit urbs sub secundo Israel, saxis obrutus beatus
 Stephanus prothomartyr occubuit, inde translatus in Syon et
 690 sepultus inter Nichodemum et Gamalielem et Abibon, postea
 Constantinopolim, Romae ad ultimum beato Laurentio contu-
 mulatus, unde et in tumulo:

QUEM SYON OCCIDIT NOBIS BISANCIA MISIT

674 (= Th 1475-1476) Fretellus has certainly taken this from Isidore, *Etym.* 13, 19, 6: *Genesar lacus amplissimus in Iudaea ... auram non ventis sed de se ipso sibi excreans. Unde et Genesar dicitur Graeco vocabulo, quasi generans sibi auram.* Cf. Thiel, *Grundlagen*, p. 315. *ab illic presentibus* = 523. 676-677 (= 644) *Galilea gentium in tribu Zabulon et Neptalim* Is. 9, 1 (Matth. 4, 15). 677-678 3 Reg. 9, 11.

679 Tiberiadis] Although Boeren's text of Fretellus (36, 7) has *Cinereth civitas, quae et Tyberias* (no variants mentioned), it is clear from the identical reading in both JW and Th (1482, see the critical apparatus), that at least some of Fretellus' manuscripts must have presented the genitive. 681-683 Fr 36, 10-12 (Iudith 13, 1-10 and 16, 25 and 28). 683-686 (cf. 105-106) Fr 36, 14-16 (Gen. 37, 17-28). 687-693 Fr 67, 2-7. 687 *Ante portam Iherusalem* = 694. 688 *secundo Israel* (Fretellus 2, 5 and 67, 3): Godfrey of Bouillon. 689-690 = 96-97. 691-692 *contumulatus*: 'buried together with' (BHL 7878), at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.

674 generans auram B(Fr), auram generans T adhuc B(Fr) *et in margine* T illic B(Fr, et 523), illis (cf. Gen. 42, 25: *illis praesentibus*) T 675 Magdalum oppidum B(Fr), oppidum Magdalum T 676 Haec autem regio T(Fr), Hec est regio id est B 679 Chyneret T, Chynaret B et T(Fr), om. B 682 sua om. TB, ss. T(Fr) 683 Holofernem T, Olofernem B 684-685 fratres ... pascentes T(Fr), pascentes greges fratres suos B 685 habentes odio T(Fr), odio habentes B 687 quae T(Fr), quem B 688 obrutus T(Fr), ubi add. B 690 inter T(Fr), in terra B Nichodemum et Gamalielem T(Fr), Gam(alielem) (om. et) Nicodemum B 691 Romae ad ultimum B(Fr), ad ultimum Romae T 693 Bisancia T(Fr), misancia (misit) B

Ante portam Iherusalem iuxta lacum qui respicit meridiem
 695 cavea illa, in qua leo quidam iussu dei omnipotentis martyrum
 fere duodecim milia sub Cosdroe preempta nocte detulit, unde
 et 'Carnarium leonis' dicitur. Sexto miliario ab Ierusalem contra
 meridiem, via quae ducit Ramatha, mons Modin, ex quo Ma-
 thathias pater Machabeorum; in quo sepulti quiescunt adhuc
 700 apparentibus tumulis. Octavo miliario a Modin, via quae ducit
 Ioppen, Lidda, quae et Diospolis, in qua corpus beati Georgii
 sepultum fuisse manifestatur, miliario a Ramatha.

Tercio miliario a Bethleem Thecua oppidum, ex qua Amos,
 qui et ibi sepultus quiescit.

705 Quarto miliario ab Iherusalem contra austrum oppidum illud,
 in quo morabatur Zacharias tunc temporis, cum mater Iesu
 MARIA festinans, iam habens in utero filium dei, venit ad salu-
 tandum Elisabeth cognatam suam gravidam de Iohanne filio
 suo, quem et ibi natum fuisse perhibent. Terciodecimo miliario
 710 ab Iherusalem contra boream Ihericho, ex qua Raab meretrix,
 quae hospitata quatuor exploratores filiorum Israel liberavit,
 celavit et pavit. Ex qua Zacheus qui, statura pusillus, audiens
 Iesum per partes illas deambulantem sicomorum arborem as-
 cendit ut illum videret et cum eo loqueretur, se iudicans et
 715 petens veniam. Ex qua et pueri qui beatum Heliseum Ieroso-
 limam ascendentem deriserunt, exclamantes: *ascende calve, as-
 cende calve!* Secundo miliario ab Iherusalem, via quae ducit
 Sychem, mons Gabaath in tribu Benjamin. Miliario ab Iheru-
 salem in accubitu Montis Oliveti Mons Offensionis et continuus.

694-697 Fr 68, 1-4. 694 *Ante portam Iherusalem* = 687. 697-700 Fr 69,
 1-3. 698-699 1 Macc. 2, 1. 699 *sepulti quiescunt* = 175. 700-702 Fr 69,
 4-6. 703-704 Fr 48, 1-2 (Amos 1, 1). 704 *sepultus quiescit* = 175. 705-
 709 Fr 68, 9-12 (705 Quarto] Quinto Fr). 706-709 Luc. 1, 39-42. 709-
 712 Fr 72, 1-3. 710-712 Ios. 2, 1 (6, 17). 712-715 Luc. 19, 2-10 (3:
quia statura pusillus erat). 715-717 Fr 72, 3-4. 716-717 4 Reg. 2, 23. 717-
 722 Fr 58, 17-22 (717-718 also Fr 71, 9-10). 719 Mons Offensionis] 4 Reg.
 23, 13. et] I think this should be read as *ei* (*continuus*), but *et* is also found
 in Fretellus (58, 19-20) and in the *Innominatus* VI (p. 437, 5).

694 qui T(Fr), que B 695 cavea T(Fr), cave B quidam T(Fr), om. B
 696 fere T(Fr), fecit B Cosdroe B et e Cosdre corr. T nocte detulit
 B(Fr), detulit nocte T 697 Sexto T(Fr), XVI B 698 Ramatha ... 700 ducit
 T(Fr), per ὁμοιοτέλετον om. B 701 Diospolis] Dispolis T, Diospolim B
 Georgii B(Fr), Georgi T 702 Ramatha TB(Fr), tha del. B 703 Thecua
 (= 175): Theucua e Theucuea B, Theucua e Theucua T qua B (Tecua ex
 qua, *omisso* oppidum Fr), quo T 704 et T(Fr), om. B 710 Raab T(Fr), raat
 B 717 calve B(Fr), superius add. T 718 Gabaath (Fr) *correx*i: Gabaoth T,
 Galaath B

- 720 Dividit autem eos via quae de Iosaphat per Bethphage ducit
Bethaniam. Dictus Mons Offensionis eo, quod rex Salomon
posuit in eo idolum Moloch, adorans eum. Prope iuxta Iheru-
salem sub Salomonis regia in accubitu in Valle Iosaphat nata-
toria Siloe, ad quam cecum ab eo illuminatum misit Iesus ut
725 ab ea lavaret oculos suos. Qui abiens lavit et vidit, ergo Siloe
interpretatur 'missus'. Non ad eandem aquam Naaman princeps
Syriae missus est, sed ad Iordanem, ab Heliseo propheta, ut in
eo ter lotus curaretur a lepra. Quam ipse intuens quasi cum
indignatione intulit: *numquid Farfar et Abbana non meliora sunt*,
730 *flumina scilicet nostrae provinciae?* Tandem tamen monitis servi
sui consensiens mandatum prophetae implevit et curatus est.
Syloe secundum tradicionem Syrorum ex Sylo manare dicitur.
Syloe gurgitem suum cum silentio ducit, quia subterraneum.
Iuxta Syloe extitit quercus Rogel, sub qua beatus Iosias sepultus
735 quiescit.

In Valle Iosaphat sepultus fuit beatus Iacobus Alphei, qui de
templo, ut dictum est, precipitatus fuit. Est autem in eadem
valle pulchra capella, in qua indicium manet sepulturae eius,
his superpositis versibus:

- 740 URGENT ALPHEI NATUM SINE LEGE IUDEI,
CAUSA NECIS FIT EI NOMEN AMORQUE DEI.
ALPHEI NATUS DE TEMPLO PRECIPITATUS
HUC FUIT ALLATUS ET DEVOTE TUMULATUS

- Inde translatus fuit Constantinopolim. In Valle Iosaphat sub
745 acuto piramide rex idem Iosaphat tumulatus fuit, a cuius no-

720 Iosaphat (= Valle Iosaphat) = 919. 721-722 3 Reg. 11, 7. 722-
726 Fr 58, 7-9. 725-726 Ioh. 9, 7: ... *Siloe, quod interpretatur 'missus'*. 726-
728 cf. Fr 31, 8-9. 729-730 4 Reg. 5, 12 (*fluvii Damasci*). 732-733 Fr 58,
9-11. 733 *gurgitem ... subterraneum* = 632 (Is. 8, 6: *aquas Siloe, quae vadunt cum*
silentio). 734-735 Fr 58, 12-13. *sepultus quiescit* = 175 (704). 736 Fr 58,
14-15. 737 ut dictum est] 330-331. 744-745 Fr 58, 15-16. 745 *piramis*
masculine!

720 eos T(Fr), om. B de Iosaphat omisso Valle = Fretellus 58, 20. Cf. 919
722 posuit in eo idolum B(Fr), in eo ydolum posuit T Prope] *Abbine*
iterum et AM (cf. app. cr. ad 428) 724 Iesus ... 731 est TB, om. AM 725
lavit et vidit T(Fr), et lavit B (-AM) 726 Non ad T, Ad non B (-AM)
726-727 Naaman ... missus est T, missus est Naaman princeps Sirie B
(-AM) 728 quasi T, om. B (-AM) 729 Farfar T, Farfa B (-AM) Abbana
(= 614.615) ex correctura T, Abana B et pr. T (-AM) 734 Iuxta ... 735 quiescit
TB (beatus Ysaïas Fr), om. AM qua T(Fr), quo B (-AM) 737 precipitatus
fuit T, fuit precipitatus β 738 (manet) sepulturae eius T, eius sepulture B,
eius sepulture est AM 739 versibus: v. ad 744 (T) 743-746 *partim in rasuris*
T 744 Inde ... Constantinopolim (fuit T, om. β) *hoc loco* B, *post* 739 versibus
T, *post* 745 idem AM 745 acuto sic

mine tota vallis sortita est vocabulum. Interpretatur autem
 'vallis iudicii' iuxta illud: *congregabo omnes gentes*, et caetera.
 Eadem namque vallis ex omni parte plures habet caveas, in
 quibus religiosae personae vitam ducunt heremiticam. Tota
 750 vallis pertinet ad cenobium in summitate eiusdem vallis supra
 rivum torrentis Cedron situm iuxta hortum, in quo sepe do-
 minus noster cum discipulis suis solebat convenire. In cuius
 cenobii cripta adhuc hodie ostenditur sepultura beatissimae
 virginis MARIAE, de qua postea dicemus.

755 Dictum est iam de duobus sigillis, quae dominus noster
 tamquam leo de tribu Iuda emissus in signato libro Iohannis
 solvit, scilicet nativitate et baptismo, ideoque de aliis subiun-
 gamus.

Adpropinquante dominicae passionis tempore venit Iesus do-
 760 minus noster Bethaniam sero ante diem Palmarum, et in se-
 quenti, scilicet die dominico, mane cum ea sollempnitate, de
 qua iam diximus, sanctam civitatem est ingressus. Distat Be-
 thania a Iherusalem per duo miliaria et est oppidum illud, in
 quo Symon, vel Lazarus, quod melius est, sepe Iesum recepit
 765 in hospitem, cui devote ministrabat Martha et Maria. In Betha-
 nia Maria Magdalena fracto alabastro unguentum preciosum
 effudit causa devotionis supra caput Salvatoris in convivio
 recumbentis, cuius unguenti odore tota domus repleta fuit.
 Dicitur etiam eadem Maria in eodem loco, vel potius in alio,
 770 scilicet in domo Symonis leprosi, iamdudum cum adhuc esset
 peccatrix ductu penitentiae ad pedes domini similiter in convi-
 vio recumbentis venisse et suis lacrimis pedes Iesu rigasse

746-747 Fr 59, 10. Cf. Thiel, *Grundlagen*, p. 334. 747 = 255-256. 753
hodie ostenditur sepultura = 820-821. 754 *de qua postea dicemus* = 869. 756 *leo*
de tribu Iuda (= 1025) Apoc. 5, 5. 762 iam diximus] 415-418. 762-765
 Fr 59, 1-2. 764 vel Lazarus, quod melius est] Fr 59, 1-2 has: *in quo Symon*
leprosus (cf. 769-770) *sepe Iesum recepit in hospitem*. 766-767 Marc. 14, 3: *fracto*
alabastro (= 792.811) *effudit super caput eius*. *unguentum preciosum* (Matth. 26, 7;
 Marc. 14, 3) = 793. 768 Cf. Act. 2, 2: *replevit totam domum*. 770-775 Fr
 59, 2-4. 770 in domo Symonis leprosi] Matth. 26, 6; Marc. 14, 3. 772-
 773 *suis lacrimis ... extersisse* cf. 785-786.

748 namque T, *om.* β 751 sepe TB, *om.* AM 752 solebat convenire
 TB, convenire solebat AM 753-754 beatissimae virginis TB, beate AM
 754 postea (= 869) T, amplius (cf. 812) *add.* β 759-760 dominus noster
 TB, *om.* AM. In margine .III. Sigillum *m*² T et B 761 scilicet TB, *om.* AM
 761-762 ea ... diximus TB, ea quam (que A) diximus sollempnitate AM
 762 est ingressus TB, ingressus est AM 763 a (cf. 1176) TB, ab *uti passim*
 AM 767 supra TB, super AM 769 eadem Maria TB, Maria eadem AM
 Maria β, Magdalena *add.* T. Cf. 785/788 772 suis lacrimis (... crinibusque
 suis) T, lacrimis suis β

crinibusque suis extersisse et alio quodam, scilicet compunctio-
 nis, unguento unxisse et sic peccatorum suorum veniam apud
 775 dominum promeruisse. Unde cum in sacra scriptura alicubi
 reperiatur aliam Mariam ad pedes illius accessisse, aliam caput
 domini inunxisse, doctores nostri exponunt aliam id est alte-
 ratam, quia ibi peccatrix in amaritudine penitentiae, hic iam
 iustificata cum devotionis exultatione accessit. Est tamen quae-
 780 dam aeclesia infra muros sanctae civitatis iuxta Sanctam
 Annam versus septentrionem prope muros urbis in honore
 Mariae Magdalenae consecrata, in qua habitant monachi Iaco-
 bitae, qui asserunt ibi domum fuisse Symonis leprosi, qui in-
 vitavit dominum nostrum ad convivium, in quo supervenit
 785 Maria Magdalena procidens ad pedes Iesu, quos lacrimis rigavit
 et osculatos crinibus deterisit, ungens unguento. Hoc quidem
 asserunt et idipsum, loco in pavimento assignato crucis forma,
 ubi venit Maria ad pedes Iesu, et in tabularum pictura sic fuisse
 comprobant, ostendentes adhuc capillum eiusdem Mariae, qui
 790 continetur in vasculo perspicuo repertus ibidem. Dicunt quoque
 aliam fuisse Mariam, quae soror erat Lazari et Marthae, quae
 in Bethania, quod opidum illorum erat trium, fracto alabastro
 unguentum preciosum fudit super caput eiusdem domini nostri.
 Cuius sepulturam adhuc hodie in Tabaria dicunt apparere,
 795 corpore ipsius ibidem sepulto. Fatentur autem corpus Mariae
 Magdalenae in partibus nostris apud Virzlacum sepultum quies-

775ff Cf. V. Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident* ... 1, 1959, pp. 2-4.

777 *doctores nostri*: see the note on lines 797-800. 785 *ad pedes Iesu* = 788.

785-786 (cf. 772-773) Ioh. 11, 2 (Ioh. 11, 2: *unxit dominum unguento*; 12, 3: *unxit pedes Iesu*). 788 *ad pedes Iesu* = 785. 792-793 *fracto alabastro unguentum preciosum* = 766. 796 *in partibus nostris*: 'in our part of the world' as opposed to the Holy Land (*partes transmarinae*); cf. 1153-1154. 796-797 *sepultum quiescere* = 175. Cf. *Monumenta Virziliacensia*, CCCM 42 (1976).

774 peccatorum suorum veniam T, veniam peccatorum suorum β 775 in (*om. M*) sacra scriptura β, sacra in scriptura T 776-777 illius ... domini T, eius ... domini B, domini ... eius AM 777 inunxisse T, unxisse (= 807) β 777-778 *alteratam optime* A, alteram TBM, *corr. m. al. T* 779 tamen TB, tantum AM 781 urbis TB, *om. M*, sancte et A 782 qua β, quo T 783 fuisse *hoc loco* T, *post* leprosi BA, *post* Symonis M 787 assignato TB, signato AM 788 tabularum pictura (= *tabula picta*) β, pictura tabularum T 791 soror erat T, erat soror β 792 illorum erat T, erat illorum β 793 ung(u)entum preciosum (= 766) β, preciosum unguentum T 795 ipsius TB, eius AM 796 in partibus nostris T, *om. B*, in (*om. M*), nostris partibus AM Virzlacum T, Vir lacum B, Virzilacum M, Wirzilacum A

cere: hoc utique illi affirmant, sicuti presens audiui, sed, ut iam dictum est, doctores nostri unam et eandem quae unxit pedes et caput Iesu dicunt fuisse Mariam et eandem Lazari sororem
 800 et quandoque peccatricem. Verumtamen lectio evangelii de hoc eodem facto valde est implicita et etiam diligentem auditorem reddit dubium de hoc, scilicet an Symon phariseus in Bethania habuerit hospitium et quod invitaverit dominum, quod tamen non videtur ydoneum, quia totum illud opidum fuit Lazari et
 805 sororum suarum, et si idem Symon alibi habuit hospicium et forte in premonstrato loco, necesse est ut tunc vice prima non solum pedes sed etiam caput Iesu dicatur Maria unxisse, ut ex ipsius domini verbis in evangelio dicentis: *Symon, intravi in domum tuam*, et caetera, potest intelligi, alia vero vice in
 810 Bethania tamquam in domo sua eadem Maria tantum caput eius unxit, super ipsum fracto alabastro, unde in evangelio: *Cum esset Bethaniae Iesus*, et caetera. Si quis de his amplius velit certiorari, veniat ipse et a prudentioribus incolis terrae huius ordinem et veritatem rei gestae inquirat, nam in aliqua
 815 scriptura nec tantum de his reperi.

Inter eandem Bethaniam et summitatem Montis Oliveti tamquam in medio erat Bethphage vicus quidam sacerdotum, cuius

797 *sicuti presens audiui* = 953-954, cf. 61. 797-800 ut iam dictum est] 775-778. doctores nostri] The ancient Church distinguished three women: (1) Maria Magdalena (= from Magdala, on the Lake of Galilee: 675-676), whom Jesus delivered from seven evil spirits and who, together with Mary the mother of St. James, was at the tomb on Easter morning (Mark 15, 40 and 16, 9, and Luke 8, 2), (2) Mary of Bethany, sister of Martha and Lazarus, who anointed Jesus with an ointment and wiped his feet with her hair (John 11, 1-2), and (3) an anonymous sinner who, also in Bethany but in the house of Simon the leper, poured costly oil over Jesus' head (Matthew 26, 6-7, Mark 14, 3 and Luke 7, 37-38), and who was therefore likely to be confused with (2). But Gregory the Great simplified the matter by making the three of them into one single Mary: *Hanc vero quam Lucas peccatricem mulierem, Iohannes Mariam nominat, illam esse Mariam credimus de qua Marcus septem daemonia eiecta fuisse testatur* (Hom. in evangelia 33, MPL 76, 1239C). 808-809 Luc. 7, 40 and 44. 811 *fracto alabastro* = 766. 812 Matth. 26, 6; Marc. 14, 3. 815 *nec tantum*: 'nicht soviel', 'nicht das Geringste'. 817 Fr 59, 8-9.

797 *sicuti* TB, *sicut ipse* AM 798 doctores nostri (= 777) β, nostri doctores T 798-799 pedes et caput TB, caput et pedes AM. 801 eodem TB, *om.* AM 803 habuerit hospitium (*cf.* 805) T, hospitium habuerit β 805 et si TB, Quod si AM 806 vice prima (*cf.* 862) T, prima vice β 807 Maria unxisse TB, unxisse Maria AM 808 *ait* in TB, *om.* AM 810-811 caput eius TB, eius caput AM 812-813 amplius velit T, amplius *om.* B, velit amplius AM 817 Bethphage TB(Fr), *om.* AM

indiciū adhuc extant quasi turree duae lapideae, de quibus est una aecclēsia.

- 820 In pede Montis Oliveti versus civitatem, ubi modo ostenditur sepultura beatae Mariae virginis, erat viculus qui dicebatur Gethsemani.

Adpropinquante, ut diximus, domini passione, post Lazari resuscitationem die Palmarum venit Iherosolimam; eadem die,
 825 sollempnitate iam dicta peracta, rediit ad Oliveti montana moraturus ibi usque ad feriam quintam, in qua facturus erat una cum discipulis suis cenam dominicam, in qua veteris testamenti terminum novique testamenti initium posuit. Misit ergo in civitatem, discipulis suis inquirentibus ubi velit sibi pascha
 830 fieri, quosdam ex eis, ut venirent et prepararent sibi habitaculum vel locum ad complenda huiusmodi cenae sacramenta idoneum, de quo plenius in evangelio: *ite in civitatem et invenietis hominem amphoram aquae baiulantem: sequimini eum*, et caetera. Hoc cenaculum in Monte Syon est inventum in eo loco,
 835 in quo Salemon quondam egregium dicitur construxisse aedificium, de quo in Canticis Canticorum: *ferculum fecit sibi rex Salemon*, et caetera. Cenaculum illud in superiori parte grande erat et latum, in cuius latitudine propter misterii rationem dominus noster cum discipulis suis dicitur cenasse, ubi et pro-
 840 ditorem suum cauta indicavit descriptione, reliquos confortans de instante sibi passione et dans eis sub specie panis corpus suum ad manducandum et sub specie vini sanguinem suum ad bibendum, *quotienscumque*, et caetera, dicens. Facta iam in superiori parte eiusdem habitaculi cena, veri simile est ex
 845 eiusdem misterii ratione dominum nostrum in inferiori domus parte humilitatis exemplum in lavatione pedum discipulorum ostendisse, sive mavis hoc ante cenam vel post factum fuisse,

820-821 *modo ostenditur sepultura* = 753. 823 ut diximus] 759. 832-833 Marc. 14, 13. 834 cf. Fr 61, 2. 836-837 Cant. Cant. 3, 9. 837-838 2 Esdr. 4, 19: *opus grande est et latum*. 839-840 Ioh. 13, 21-26. 843 1 Cor. 11, 25; Canon missae 7 (*Qui pridie*), 81. 846 cf. Fr 61, 1.

818 extant TB, extat AM 819 una (a)ecclesia TB, ecclesia una AM 820 Oliveti TB, om. AM 822 Get(h)semani TB, Gethsamani AM 824 resuscitationem TB, resurrectionem AM 827-828 testamenti TB, om. AM 829 civitatem β, suam add. T 830-831 habitaculum vel locum T, locum vel habitaculum β 833 hominem ... eum TB, om. AM 837 parte (= 844) e correctura T, porta BA et pr. T, per porta (sic) M 840 cauta e correctura T 843 quotienscumque ... dicens TB, om. AM 844-845 ex eiusdem TB, eiusdem ex A, ex om. M 846 exemplum TB, om. AM 847 mavis edd., maius T, manus B, magis AM

ut quaedam expositio innuit super illam litteram evangelii Iohannis: *et facta cena surrexit*, et caetera. Sive autem hoc ante
 850 vel post factum fuerit, diversitatem loci adhuc hodie descriptio gestae rei in aecclesia Montis Syon innuit. Nam in sinistra parte eiusdem aecclesiae in loco superiori depicta apparet cena, in inferiori, scilicet in cripta, lavatio pedum discipulorum ostenditur exhibita. – His itaque consummatis misteriis orationis
 855 causa cum discipulis suis rediit ad Montem Oliveti, in cuius montis pede et accubitu dimittens discipulos suos, solus secessit ab eis quantum erat iactus lapidis, scilicet Gethsemani, oravit ad patrem suum, dicens: *pater, si fieri potest*, et caetera, ubi et ex tremore carnis sudorem fudit quasi sanguineum, et ad discipulos reversus et inveniens eos dormientes specialiter Petrum increpavit, dicens: *non potuisti una hora vigilare mecum?* et aliis discipulis: *dormite iam et requiescite*. Sic vice tertia in eundem locum ab eis secedens et easdem preces patri porrigens, tandem secundum quod homo confortatus a patre et a se ipso secundum
 865 quod deus, tercio reversus ad discipulos dixit: *vigilate et orate*. Istorum locorum distinctio, videlicet ubi discipuli remanserant et ubi dominus oraverat, manifeste in Valle Iosaphat apparet. Nam iuxta maiorem aecclesiam, in qua sepultura beatae MARIAE virginis, de qua postea dicemus, adhuc hodie extat, in dextera
 870 parte introitus sui est capella cum caverna, in qua discipuli tristes et dormitantes remanserant domino ter secedenti ab eis et totiens redeunte: hoc adhuc ibidem indicat pictura existens, locus vero ubi dominus oravit circumdatus est nova aecclesia, quae dicitur aecclesia Salvatoris, in cuius pavimento eminent

848 quaedam expositio] Augustine, *Tract. in Iohannem* 55, 3, CC 36, p. 465, 8-13. 849 Ioh. 13, 2-4. 855-865 Fr 62, 1-6. 857 Luc. 22, 41: *quantum iactus est lapidis*. 858 Matth. 26, 39 (*si possibile est*). 858-859 Luc. 22, 44. 861-862 Matth. 26, 40 and 45. 865 Matth. 26, 41. 869 *de qua postea dicemus* = 754. 871-872 *secedenti*(= -te) ... *redeunte*: cf. 1294 (B): *ab aliquo ... scire volenti*.

848 expositio TM, ex ipso B, ex Christo A 849 facta cena TB, cena facta AM 852 eiusdem TB, om. AM 854 consummatis misteriis T, misteriis (mysteriis) consum(m)atis β 857 quantum erat iactus (M, iactum B, ictus A) β, quantus iactus erat T 858 suum TB(Fr), om. AM 859 ex tremore T(Fr), exterminatione *ut videtur* B, ex timore AM fudit TB, om. AM 859-860 discipulos (cf. 862.865) β, suos add. T, cf. 855.856 862 vice tertia (cf. 806) T, tertia vice AM, terna vice B 863 easdem ... porrigens TB, orans AM 864 a patre β, om. T 865 dixit TB, (ad discipulos reversus A) ait AM 866 videlicet TB, scilicet AM 867 oraverat TB, oravit AM 868 maiorem aecclesiam (= 927.984.1040, etc.) T, ecclesiam maiorem β in qua ... 869 dicemus TB, om. A, de qua postea dicemus om. M 871 dormitantes T, dormientes (cf. 860) β 872 hoc TB, om. AM 873 nova (a)ecclesia TB, ecclesia nova AM

875 tres non operati lapides tamquam modicae rupes, in quibus
 dicitur dominus orasse cum trina genuflexione; ad quos lapides
 fit veneratio et fidelium Christi oblatio cum devotione maxima.
 Ad predictam cavernam dominus noster noscens cum turbis
 Iudam adpropinquare – Iudas enim, aliis discipulis post cenam
 880 cum domino remanentibus, solus abiit ad Iudeos, tractans cum
 eis de traditione domini, mercedem prodicionis triginta aureo-
 rum ab eis recipiens cum turba iam adpropinquavit –, hoc,
 inquam, sciens Iesus in eadem caverna dixit discipulis suis: *sur-*
gite, eamus, ecce adpropinquabit, et caetera. Sic egressus Geth-
 885 semani per osculum Iudae cognitus a cohorte transmissa est
 detentus, vinctus et deductus. Verumtamen in prefata caverna
 ostenduntur quinque foramina in uno lapide tamquam quinque
 digitis manus domini inpressa, domini dico iam capti et a
 persecutoribus violenter tracti veluti sese retinentis. Quicquid
 890 autem de hoc sit, nos proculdubio scimus eum maioris potestatis
 et virtutis ampliora potuisse facere. Traditus est, ut diximus,
 dominus noster a discipulo suo, captus et ligatus a milite
 Romano reductus ad Montem Syon, ubi tunc erat pretorium
 Pilati nuncupatum Lithostrotos, hebraice autem Gabatha: tunc
 895 enim temporis optima pars et fortitudo totius civitatis erat in
 altitudine eiusdem montis, sic, ut etiam Turre David, quae erat
 specula et tutamen reliquae civitatis, esset in eo elevata et
 ratione maternae generationis et procurationis inferior pars
 eiusdem civitatis eius diceretur filia, unde: *dicite, filiae Syon*, et

878-879 Matth. 26, 49; Marc. 14, 45. 879-882 Matth. 26, 14-16 and 27,
 3-9, cf. Zach. 11, 12. 881-882 (= 1271) aureorum] See the introduction, p.
 24. 883-884 Matth. 26, 46 (-vit). 885 Matth. 26, 48-49. 887 quinque
 foramina] Cf. Th 894 (sex). 889-890 *Quicquid ... sit* = 1216-1217. 893-894
 Fr 62, 12-13 (Ioh. 19, 13, see the note on Th 908-909). 895 Luc. 10, 42:
optimam partem (elegit). 899-900 Is. 62, 11; Matth. 21, 5, or Hesbert, CAO 3,
 p. 148, nr. 2201 (Dom. 1 Adventus).

875 tamquam TB, quasi AM 876 dicitur dominus orasse TB, dominus
 (noster add. A) dicitur orasse AM 877 devotione maxima T, magna devocione
 β 878-879 cum turbis (cum tur/cum turbis sed cum tur del.) Iudam (cf. 882)
 T, Iudam cum turbis (tribus B) β 879 Iudas ... 883 Iesus TB, om. AM 881
 traditione (cf. Matth. 26, 15.16) T, prodicione (... prodicionis) B (-AM) 881-
 882 (cf. 1271) aureorum B, argenteorum in ras. T (-AM), cf. adn. 883 dixit
 discipulis suis TB, discipulis suis ait (ait, dixit om. M) AM 884 egressus TB,
 a add. AM 885-886 est detentus, vinctus (victus B) TB, tentus est et vinctus
 AM 887 uno in ras. T 888 manus TB, om. AM 889 retinentis TA,
 retinentes BM 890 hoc TB, hiis AM 894 nuncupatum TB(Fr), nuncupati
 (!) AM Lithostrotos T, Lithostrotoz A, Lithostratus B, Litostratos M 896
 (= 1159) sic ut T, sicut AM, sic B 899 eiusdem TB, om. AM diceretur
 β, dicitur T

900 caetera. Postea vero destructa ibidem civitate et in alium locum,
 ubi nunc extat, translata sub Helio imperatore, mons quoque
 idem a sua celsitudine valde est humiliatus et adaequatus, turre
 etiam sublata inde cum aliis aedificiis. Ostenditur autem hodie
 locus ille, ubi et pretorium et Turris David fuerat. Tunc temporis
 905 iuxta idem pretorium versus meridiem erat illud grande aedi-
 ficium, ubi dominus cenavit cum discipulis suis. Iuxta idem
 pretorium versus orientem erat atrium, in quod vinctus duce-
 batur et tota nocte illa retinebatur a custodibus et a Iudeorum
 principibus observantibus eum usque ad horam sistendi iudicio
 910 in sequenti mane. In eodem pretorio Petrus ter negavit dominum
 ante gallicantum, ubi etiam, audito gallicantu, domino eum
 respiciente pie reminiscens verbi Iesu vere penituit, flevit amare,
 fugiens in cavernam, quae modo 'Gallicantus' appellatur vul-
 gariterque 'Galilea'. In Monte Syon Christus discipulis apparuit,
 915 unde et hii versus inveniuntur ibidem appositae in dextero latere
 aecclesiae:

CHRISTUS DISCIPULIS APPARUIT HIC GALILEIS
 SURGENS, PROPTEREA LOCUS EST DICTUS GALILEA

In via, qua de Syon descenditur in Iosaphat, sub Porta Montis
 920 Syon super eandem cavernam est aecclesia aedificata, quam
 hodie servant Greci monachi.

Facto itaque sequenti mane, iuditio iniquo dampnatus ante
 pretorium in loco quodam flagellatur, alapis ceditur et conspu-
 tur, veste rubea induitur, spinea corona pungitur, quod indicat
 925 epigramma ibidem positum sic continens:

ISTE CORONATUR QUO MUNDUS IURE REGATUR

901-902 Is. 40, 4 (Luc. 3, 5): *omnis mons et collis humiliabitur*. 905 iuxta idem
 pretorium versus ... erat ... = 906-9071 910 sequenti mane = 922. 910-914 Fr
 62, 14-16. 910-913 Matth. 26, 69-75; Luc. 22, 54-62. 914 Galilea] Cf.
 Matth. 28, 7: *surrexit et ecce praecedet vos in Galilaeam*. Christus discipulis apparuit
 = 917. 917 See 914. 919-920 Fr 62, 16-17. 919 Iosaphat (= Vallem
 Iosaphat) = 720. 922 sequenti mane = 910. 923-924 Ioh. 19, 1-3.

900 locum TB, post 901 extat AM 903 inde in margine T 905 iuxta
 idem pretorium (predium T) ... erat (= 906-907) TB, versus meridiem iuxta
 idem pretorium erat AM 906 dominus cenavit T, cenavit dominus β 910
 in TB, om. AM, cf. 922 911 etiam TB, et AM 912 pie TB(Fr), om. AM
 913 fugiens β(Fr), et fugiens T 915 unde... 917 apparuit T, per ὁμοιοτέλευτον
 om. AM, (917) Christus ... apparuit om. et B 917 ante hic Galileis deletum est
 hic Galileis et caetera T 918 dictus est codd., trp. T 919 de Syon descenditur
 TB, descenditur de Syon AM in Iosaphat omisso Vallem = Fretellus 62, 16-17.
 Cf. 720 922 iniquo T, in quo β 924 veste rubea T, rubea veste β

Eundem locum designat capella ante maiorem aecclesiam Syon versus boream sita, continens picturam gestae rei cum tali epigrammate:

- 930 SANCTUS SANCTORUM DAMPNATUR VOCE REORUM,
 PRO SERVIS BELLUM PATITUR DEUS ATQUE FLAGELLUM.
 HAEC BONA CRUX CHRISTI SYMONI SUBVENIT ISTI:
 NON VEHIT HANC GRATIS, QUAE DAT BONA CUNCTA BEATIS

- Ab eodem loco post sententiam crucis et dampnationis in se
 935 prolatam crucem ad hoc preparatam imposuerunt humero do-
 mini causa deferendi usque ad locum patibuli, ut illa impleretur
 prophetia: *principatus eius super humerum eius*, et caetera.
 Supervenit autem quidam Cyreneus, quem angariaverunt ean-
 dem crucem portare usque ad locum Calvariae propter miste-
 940 rium. Erat tunc temporis iuxta situm antiquae civitatis locus
 Calvariae extra civitatem, qui addictus erat capitali sententia
 dampnatis; a quorum decalvatione, crinibus eorum abrasis, aura
 consumptis eorum capitibus et iam carne denudatis et non in
 terra defossis, idem locus Calvariae dicebatur, vel ideo quia in
 945 eo rei decalvabantur, id est dampnari solebant. Idem vero locus,
 qui et hebraice Golgatha, erat in veteri rupe, sicut et hodie
 passim extra civitates eminentiora loca supplicio dampnatorum
 sunt deputata. Interim dum in eadem rupe per affixionem crux
 adaptaretur, dominus noster in quodam loco, qui tunc campes-
 950 tris erat, vinctus quasi in carcere servabatur, qui locus nunc
 modum capellae representat et adhuc 'Carcer domini' appellatur
 et est recte in opposita parte Calvariae in sinistra absida
 aecclesiae. Alii tamen aliter de eodem sentiunt loco, sicut presens
 955 dominum nostrum tunica exutum, felle et aceto potatum milites

937 Is. 9, 6. 938-939 Matth. 27, 32: *invenerunt hominem Cyrenaeum nomine Simonem: hunc angariaverunt ut tolleretur crucem eius*; Marc. 15, 21: *angariaverunt praetereuntem quempiam Simonem Cyrenaeum ... ut tolleretur crucem eius*. 944-945 Fr 63, 4-5. 946 Ioh. 19, 17: ... *Calvariae locum, hebraice autem Golgotha* (the spelling *Golgotha* is also found in Th). 948-951 Fr 65, 2-4. 953-954 *sicut presens audiui* = 797. 954-956 Fr 63, 2-4.

928 sita TM, sitam BA 932 Symoni] non *add. codd.*, *del. T* 937 et c(a)etera TB, *om. AM* 939-940 propter misterium TB, *om. AM* 940 civitatis β, *in margine m. al. T* 942 abrasis TB, *om. AM* 943 eorum TB, *om. AM* et iam *scripsi*, etiam *codd.* 944-945 in eo (ea B) rei decalvabantur TB, rei decalvabantur in eo A, rei in eodem calvabantur M 945 vero T, *om. β* 946 Golgatha T, Golgata AM, Golgotha B 948 per ... crux T, crux per affixionem β 949 loco TB, *om. AM* 951 modum capellae TB, capelle modum AM 952 (*cf. 1183*) absida AM, absita TB 954 Pilati iussu TB(Fr), iussu Pilati (Pilati A) AM

Romani crucis patibulo affixerunt. In quo dum pateretur Iesus, matrem suam Iohannes amicus suus sibi commendatam in suam accepit custodiam ut virgo virginem custodiret, dicente Iesu matri suae: *mulier, ecce filius tuus*, demonstrationem, ut quidam
 960 asserunt ad Iohannem, vel potius ad se ipsum faciens, quasi diceret: hoc modo patior ex filiatione, quam ex tua contraho maternitate, non autem ex ea habeo miracula facere. Unde et alibi, in nuptiis Chana Galileae: *quid michi et tibi est, mulier?* Sic ad matrem, deinde vero ad Iohannem: *ecce mater tua*, scilicet
 965 ratione filialis devotionis et administrationis. Calvariae dum in cruce pateretur hostia mundi, latroni pendenti ad dexteram, ab eo petenti veniam, stolam immortalitatis promisit, crucis in patibulo perforatus lancea sanguinem emisit et aquam, ex stilla quorum aperti sunt oculi Longini, qui eum percusserat, motu
 970 pietatis et compassionis, ne videlicet Iesus diutius vivens torqueretur. Domino nostro sic in crucis patibulo expirante et animam suam sponte deponente velum templi scissum est a summo usque deorsum et eadem petra, in qua crux erat defixa, in ea parte qua tangebatur sanguine est per medium fissa, per
 975 quam fissuram sanguis eius fluxit ad inferiora, in quibus dicitur a quibusdam Adam fuisse sepultus et sic in sanguine Christi baptizatus. Ad cuius rei designationem dicunt quasi caput mortui ubique depingi ad pedes crucifixi, sed nichil est aliud Adam in sanguine Christi baptizatum quam per sanguinem Christi
 980 redemptum, cum in Ebron Scriptura referat eum fuisse sepultum. Per deformem autem hominis faciem, quae solet apponi subtus ad pedes crucifixi, mors et eius destructio designatur,

956-959. Fr 63, 5-7. 957-958 in suam accepit custodiam] See William of Tyre, CCCM 63, 1986, introduction p. 49. 959 Ioh. 19, 26. 959-960 *ut quidam asserunt* = 993 (cf. 1016-1017). 963 Ioh. 2, 4. 964 Fr 63, 7 (Ioh. 19, 27). 965-969 Fr 63, 7-11. 966-967 Luc. 23, 42-43, and *Praeparatio ad missam* (ad stolam): *Redde mihi, domine, stolam immortalitatis*. 968 Ioh. 19, 34. 972-973 Matth. 27, 51; Marc. 15, 38; Luc. 23, 45. 978 *ad pedes crucifixi* = 982. 980-981 Ios. 14, 15. 982 *ad pedes crucifixi* = 978.

957-958 in suam ... custodiam T, in suam (sua AM) accepit (*omisso custodia(m)*) β, v. *adn.* 959 demonstrationem T, demonstratione AM, demonstraret B 960 asserunt TB, dicunt AM 961 hoc] quod *add. m. al.* T 963 est (= Ioh. 2, 4, v. *adn.*) β (Quid et michi est M), *om.* T (= Marc. 5, 7) 964 vero TB, *om.* AM 968-969 stilla quorum TB, quorum stilla AM 969 percusserat TB(Fr), percussit AM 970 compassionis β, confessionis T 971-972 et ... deponente TB, *om.* AM 973 defixa TB, fixa AM 974 est ... fissa TB, per medium fissa est A, per medium est scissa M 978 est aliud TB, aliud est A, est Adam aliud M 982 mors et eius destructio TB, mors eius AM

unde dominus: *o mors, ero mors tua*, id est destructio tua. Locus
 quidem Calvariae est ad dexteram in introitu maioris aecclēsie,
 985 in cuius superiori parte scissura eiusdem petrae celebris cum
 magna sollempnitate veneratur et adhuc hodie advenientibus
 manifeste ostenditur. Eadem pars superior † optimo musivo
 opere † pulchre depicta continetur passio Christi et eius sepul-
 tura, cum prophetarum testimonio gestae rei hinc inde consono.
 990 Nota quoque quod in eodem loco – sive crux fuerit infixa in
 rotundo foramine quod adhuc patens ostenditur et in quod
 oblationes mittuntur fidelium, sive in parte ea, ubi astile cuius-
 dam rotundi lapidis ostenditur erectum, ut quidam asserunt et
 ut plus quoad situs positionem et ad sanguinis ex dextro latere
 995 ad rimam petrae emissionem congruum et ydoneum esse vide-
 tur, facies domini in cruce pendentis ex positionis necessitate
 versus orientem declaratur posita fuisse –, iuxta eundem locum
 in superiori parte ad dexteram est altare situm, in honore
 dominicae passionis consecratum, et totus locus ille denominatur
 1000 ab eadem passione. Inferior vero pars eiusdem Calvariae sub-
 tus continet altare et vocatur Ad Sanctum Sanguinem, quia eo
 usque per rimam petrae sanguis domini dicitur fluxisse. Qui
 locus hodie retro idem altare designatus est per quamdam
 concavitatem eiusdem petrae, ubi dependet ampulla cum conti-
 1005 nua illuminatione.

In loco ut diximus Calvariae tertium sacramentum est im-
 pletum et tertium sigillum clausi libri dicitur solutum fuisse.

Transeamus ad reliqua. In medio choro dominorum, non longe
 a loco Calvariae, est quidam locus elevatione tabularum de

983 Fr 64, 13 (Osea 13, 14). 987-988 The text is in disorder: either
*pars superior optimo musivo opere (***) pulchre depicta continetur passio Christi*, or *pars*
*superior (***) optimo musivo opere pulchre depicta continetur passio Christi*. 990 *Nota*
quoque cf. 1277. 992 *sive in parte ea* is not to be joined with *sive ...* in line 990
 but with 996-997 *facies domini ... declaratur posita fuisse*. 993 *ut quidam asserunt* =
 959-960. 997-999 = 1117: *illud superius* (altare). 1006 *ut diximus* Cf.
 940ff. 1008 *dominorum* = 344.

983 unde ... destructio tua TB, om. AM 984 ad ... introitu TB, in dextera
 iuxta introitum AM 985 scissura eiusdem (dem ss.) T, scissura est (post celebris
 addito et) B, est scissura AM 987-988 optimo (= 325.362) β, optime T
exciderunt quaedam, v. adn. 988 Christi TA, domini BM eius] dem eras.
 T, cf. 985, app. cr. 990 quoque β (cf. 1277), om. T sive in margine T 992
 parte ea TB, ea parte AM 992-993 cuiusdam β, eiusdem T 993 ostenditur
 erectum (cf. 853-854) T, erectum ostenditur (cf. 991) β 994 quoad correxi,
 quod ad codd. Cf. 26.1379 996 facies in faciem et 997 declaratur posita fuisse
 in respexisse mutavit manus recens T 996 in cruce pendentis T, pendentis in
 cruce β 998 honore β, honorem T 1002 per in ras. T Sigillum .III.
 (sic) in margine B 1003 est TB, om. AM 1007 clausi libri TB, om. AM

- 1010 marmore et reticulorum ferreorum concatenatione in modum altaris designatus, infra quas tabulas in pavimento orbiculis quibusdam factis meditullium terrae dicitur designatum, iuxta illud: *operatus est salutem in medio terrae*. In eodem quoque loco post resurrectionem dicitur dominus apparuisse beatae
 1015 Mariae Magdalenae et idem locus habetur in magna veneracione, lampade etiam intus dependente. In eodem quoque loco quidam asserunt quod Ioseph corpus Iesu a Pylato impetravit, eadem die, hoc est feria sexta, sublatum de cruce lavit, reverende preciosis liquoribus et aromatibus condiens involutumque in
 1020 sindone munda haut longe sepelivit in orto in monumento, quod novum sibi de rupe sculperat. Inde descendit ad inferos ad liberandum hominem. Ecce quartum sigillum et quartum sacramentum. Ex eodem loco in completionem quinti sacramenti et in solutione quinti sigilli resurrexit dominus a mortuis vere,
 1025 leo de tribu Iuda, morte subacta, ibi et angelus domini sanctis mulieribus apparuit, iam ab ostio monumenti lapide revoluta, Iesumque vere resurrexisse a mortuis ait: *ite, nuntiate fratribus meis*, et iterum: *ite, dicite discipulis eius et Petro*. Eadem die declinante iam ad vesperam peregrini sub specie latens apparuit
 1030 duobus discipulis, in via sub conquestu de morte illius tendentes Eleuteropolim, id est Emaus oppidum sexto miliario ab Ihe-

1013 Ps. 73, 12. 1013-1015 Fr 65, 4-5. 1016-1028 Fr 64, 1-8. 1016-1017 quidam asserunt cf. 959-960. 1017-1021 Matth. 27, 57-60; Luc. 23, 50-53; Ioh. 19, 38-42. 1024 resurrexit ... vere (cf. 1027): cf. the sequence for Easter *Victimae paschali laudes* 5b: *Scimus Christum surrexisse a mortuis vere* (Luke 24, 34: *surrexit dominus vere*). 1025 leo de tribu Iuda = 756. 1027 vere ... a mortuis cf. 1024. 1027-1028 Matth. 28, 10. Actually, it was not the angel who spoke these words but Jesus himself, and that is probably why *meis* was omitted by BA(M). *Ait* governs both *Iesum ... resurrexisse* and the quotations. 1028 Marc. 16, 7. 1028-1033 Fr 65, 5-9 (Luc. 24, 13-31). 1030 tendentes] See the introduction, p. 21.

1011 designatus AM, est designatus TB orbiculis TB, orbutis AM 1014 beatae TB, om. AM 1015 inter et et idem rasura 2 litt. T 1016 loco] post resurrectionem e 1014 repetitum add. T 1016-1017 quidam asserunt (= 993, et passim) T, asserunt quidam β 1017 a Pylato impetravit T, hoc impetravit B, ubi a Pilato impetravit AM 1019 et β(Fr), atque T condens corr. T involutumque TB(Fr), involutum AM 1022 .IIII. Sigillum in margine m² T 1023 .V. Sigillum in margine m² T 1024 a mortuis vere β, vere a mortuis T. Cf. adn. 1025 et β, om. T 1027 Sigillum .V. in margine B 1028 meis T, om. BA (1027 ite ... 1028 Petro om. M). Cf. adn. et Petro TB(Fr), om. A (-M) (= Matth. 28, 7) 1029 declinante iam TB(Fr), iam declinante M, iam ad vesperam declinante A peregrini ... latens TB(Fr), sub specie peregrini (om. latens) AM 1030 illius TB(Fr), eius AM tendentes TB, tendentibus AM(Fr) sed cf. adn. 1031 Eleuteropolim A, Eleutropolim TB, Eleutopolim M

rusalem contra occidentem, quem et ibi secum receptum in hospitem recognoverunt in fractione panis, sed statim disparuit. Deinde apparuit omnibus apostolis absque Thoma in Monte
 1035 Syon ianuis clausis, dicens eis: *pax vobis*, octavo quoque die in eodem monte apparuit Thomae cum reliquis discipulis quando ei vulnera sua palpanda obtulit, quo facto Thomas intulit: *dominus meus et deus meus*. Haec revelationes per picturam demonstrantur factae in loco Montis Syon, scilicet in cripta
 1040 maioris aeclesiae, ubi etiam depingitur dominus noster pedes discipulorum lavissee cum manifesta utriusque facti descriptione; post resurrectionem etiam secus Mare Tyberiadis et in mari ter discipulis suis Iesus se manifestavit et preter haec alibi multociens ad probationem suae resurrectionis iam factae
 1045 et nostrae resurrectionis adhuc futurae.

Dispositio monumenti, in quo continetur sepulchrum domini, fere rotundam habet formam, intus musivo opere decoratam. Patet ab oriente per introitum parvi ostioli, ante quod habet protectum fere quadratum cum duabus ianuis. Per unam intro-
 1050 mittuntur ingressuri monumentum ad sepulchrum, per alteram emittuntur egressuri. In eo quoque protecto resident custodes sepulchri, et tertium habet ostium versus chorum. Eidem monumento ab occidente, videlicet ad caput sepulchri, forinsecus appositum est altare cum quadam quadrata superaedificatione,
 1055 cuius parietes tres de reticulis ferramenti pulchre compositis, et vocatur illud altare Ad Sanctum Sepulchrum. Idem monumentum satis amplum habet super se quasi ciborium rotundum et superius de argento coopertum, in altum elevatum versus foramen illud amplum in maiori illo aedificio superius patulum,
 1060 quod aedificium, circulariter cum forma rotunda circa monumentum satis amplum, in extremo habet continuum parietem

1034-1038 Fr 66, 1-5. 1034-1035 Ioh. 20, 19-24. 1038 Ioh. 20, 28.
 1040-1041 Ioh. 13, 4-12. 1042-1043 Fr 66, 5 (Ioh. 21). 1056-1057
monumentum satis amplum = 1060-1061 (1071-1072). 1058 de argento] Th 191:
deauratis. See also 1084. 1059 *patulum* is pleonastic, whether it means 'open'
 (= *foramen*) or 'wide' (= *amplum*). 1060-1061 *monumentum satis amplum* = 1056-
 1057 (1071-1072).

1033 sed β(Fr), et T 1034 apparuit omnibus β(Fr), omnibus apparuit T
 1035-1036 in eodem monte (loco AM) β (= 1277), in monte eodem T
 1037 quo ... 1038 deus meus TB, om. AM 1041 discipulorum (discipulis
 B) β, suorum discipulorum T 1042 post ... 1045 futurae TB, om. AM 1042
 post resurrectionem etiam T, potest etiam resurrectionem B (-AM) 1043
 haec T, om. B (-AM) 1046 quo *edd.*, qua *codd.* 1052 tertium habet (cf.
app. cr. ad 432) T, habet terciū^β 1055 com(positis) e *correctura* T 1056
 illud TA, ille B, idem M

diversis imaginibus sanctorum large depictum et ornatum, pluribus lampadibus illuminatum. In strictiori ambitu eiusdem maioris aedificii octo columpnae marmoreae rotundae et totidem
 1065 bases quadratae, totidem tabulis quadratis marmoreis forinsecus ornatae, circumquaque erectae sustinent molem superiorem sub tecto, quod, ut diximus, patulum est in medio. Diximus quod columpnae circulariter cum predicto numero sunt appositae, sed modo versus orientem mutata est earum dispositio et nu-
 1070 merus propter adiectionem novae aecclesiae, ad quam inde est transitus, et continet illum novum et de novo additum aedificium, satis amplum scilicet chorum dominorum et satis longum sanctuarium, continens maius altare in honore anastasios, id est sanctae resurrectionis, consecratum, quod et superius apposita
 1075 pictura in opere musivo declarat. Continetur enim in ea imago Christi resurgentis seris confractis inferni, antiquum patrem nostrum Adam inde extrahentis. Extra hoc altaris sanctuarium et infra claustri ambitum continetur satis latum spacium circumquaque, tam per hoc novum quam per antiquum prefati
 1080 monumenti aedificium, processioni idoneum, quae et fit singulis dominicis noctibus a Pascha usque ad Adventum domini in vespers ad sanctum sepulchrum cum antiphona *Christus resurgens*, cuius etiam antiphonae textus extra in extremo margine monumenti litteris in argento elevatis continetur. Finita
 1085 ea antiphona per cantum cantor statim incipit *Vespere autem* cum psalmo *Magnificat* et cum collecta de resurrectione *Omnipotens sempiterne*, premissis versiculo *Surrexit dominus de hoc*

1067 diximus ... Diximus] 1058ff. 1071-1072 novum et de novo additum cf. 1268-1269. satis amplum = 1056-1057 and 1060-1061. 1072 dominorum = 344. satis longum] Cf. 1078 satis latum. 1076-1077 patrem nostrum Adam = 500-501. 1078 satis latum] Cf. 1072 satis longum. 1082-1084 See the note on Th 184-186. 1084 litteris in argento elevatis] Th 182: aureis litteris. See also 1058. 1085 Vespere autem (sabbati): Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 533, nr. 5371 (Dom. Paschae). 1086 Magnificat: Luc. 1, 46-55, cf. Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 323-324, nrs. 3667-3669. 1086-1087 Omnipotens sempiterne (deus): Dom. 2 in Palmis (Collecta). Cf. Appendix liturgica 6. 1087-1088 Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 498, nr. 5079.

1065 totidem tabulis quadratis T, totidem et quadratis om. β 1066 molem superiorem T, superiorem molem β 1069 earum AM, om. B, eorum T 1071 illum (= illud) TAM, illud B et e correctura T 1072 scilicet in margine T, om. β 1077 Adam TB, om. AM 1078 et infra TB, om. AM 1079 prefati TB, sancti AM 1080 (a)edificium AM et e correctura T, edificii B, edicii pr. T 1082-1083 Christus resurgens cum neumate T 1084 continetur m. al. T, om. codd. 1085 per cantum TB, om. AM Vespere autem cum neumate T autem] sabbati supplet β, cf. app. cr. ad 1089 1087 scripiterne T, om. AM (1086 de ... 1088 sepulchro om. B) hoc AM et ss. T (-B)

sepulchro. Similiter per hoc tempus omni die dominico missa celebratur *Resurrexi*.

- 1090 In capite etiam eiusdem novae aecclesiae versus orientem iuxta claustrum dominorum est locus in profundo in modum criptae cum satis magna serenitate, in quo regina Helena crucem domini dicitur reperisse, in cuius Helenae honorem ibidem continetur altare consecratum. Quae regina maiorem eiusdem
1095 sacri ligni partem secum detulit Constantinopolim, reliqua vero pars, Iherosolimis relictā, diligenter et reverende servatur in quodam loco in altera parte aecclesiae ex opposito loco Calvariae. Eiusdem loci, licet sanguine Christi ibidem effuso iam dudum consecrati, tamen modernis temporibus, licet ex super-
1100 habundanti, facta est a viris venerabilibus consecratio quintadecima die Iulii. Unde et tales versus sub quodam *** in litteris deaurato opere propositis adhuc testantur ibidem conscripti:

- EST LOCUS ISTE SACER SACRATUS SANGUINE CHRISTI:
1105 PER NOSTRUM SACRARE SACRO NICHIL ADDITUR ISTI.
SED DOMUS HUIC SACRO CIRCUM SUPERAEDIFICATA
EST QUINTADECIMA QUINTILIS LUCE SACRATA

- Eadem quoque die in eodem mense, licet longe iam anteriori tempore, cum iam dudum eadem sancta civitas sub dominatu
1110 Sarracenorum diversorum generum detineretur captiva, ab exercitu Christianorum est liberata. Ad cuius liberationis

1088-1089 Missa Dominicae Paschae (*Introitus*). 1091 (claustrum) *dominorum* = 344. 1091-1093 Fr 64, 9-10. 1095 *secum detulit* = 118. 1098 *licet ...* 1099 *licet*. 1101 The text is in disorder. Cf. Th 436-437: *tabula quaedam ... in qua hii versus aureis literis descripti esse videntur*. 1104-1107 = Th 438-441: Th 439 reads *addimus* instead of *additur* (1105) and adds a fifth line. 1110 diversorum generum] Cf. 1148 and 1444-1445. 1111-1112ff Cf. A. Linder, *The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem* (above, p. 6: Preface).

1088 die dominico TB, dominico die AM 1089 celebratur T, de resurrectione *add. β, cf. adn. cr. ad 1085* Resurrexi cum neumate T 1090 eiusdem nove ecclesie BM, nove eiusdem ecclesie A, eiusdem aecclesiae novae T 1092 satis magna β, magna satis T 1093 honorem *hoc loco codd. omnes* 1095 sacri ligni (*e sacrilegi corr. B*) β, ligni sacri T 1098 sanguine *e sanguinem corr. T* Christi TB, *om. AM* ibidem TB, ibi AM iam TB, etiam AM 1099 tamen BA, in T, cum M 1100-1105 *partim in rasuris T* 1101-1102 sub quodam (*lacunam statui*) in litteris de (inde B) aurato opere (*forsan <musivo> opere coll. 164*) propositis TB, *om. AM* 1102-1103 adhuc ... conscripti (scripti B) TB, ibidem continentur superscripti AM 1105 addimus Th 439 1107 quintadecima TB, decima quinta A, XV^a M. Vide Th 442 1108 iam TB, *om. AM* 1109 sancta civitas B, civitas sancta T, sancta *om. AM* 1110 diversorum generum TB, *om. AM* 1111 est TB, *om. AM*

- commemoracionem eandem diem post consecracionis renovationem cum spirituali offitio reddunt celebrem in priori missa decantando *Letare Iherusalem*, maiorem vero missam celebrant
- 1115 de dedicatione *Terribilis est locus*. Nam ea die quatuor etiam altaria in eadem aeclesia sunt consecrata, scilicet altare maius et illud superius in Calvaria et duo in latere aeclesiae ex opposita parte, unum videlicet in honore sancti Petri et aliud in honore sancti Stephani prothomartyris. In sequenti die sollempnem faciunt tam in elemosinis quam in oracionibus commemorationem omnium fidelium defunctorum, precipue occasione in expugnatione urbis occisorum, quorum maxime sepultura apud Portam Auream celebris habetur. In tertia die anniversarium ducis felicitis memoriae et egregii Gotefridi, illius sanctae
- 1125 expeditionis ***, stirpe Alemannorum oriundi, tota civitas sollempniter observat cum larga elemosinarum in maiori aeclesia distributione ex sui ipsius adhuc viventis dispositione. Verumtamen, quamvis sic ibidem quasi de suo honoretur, tamen expugnatio civitatis non ei cum Alemannis, non minime in ea
- 1130 expeditione laborantibus et exercitatis, sed solis ascribitur Francis. Unde etiam in detractatione nostrae gentis epytaphium illius famosi Wiggeri, per multa forcia facta approbati, quia non poterant eum denegare esse Alemannum, deleverunt et cuiusdam militis de Francia superposuerunt, sicut adhuc a presentibus videri potest. Nam eius sarcophagus extra in angulo
- 1135

1114 Dom. 4 Quadr.: *Introitus*. 1114-1115 Commune Dedicationis ecclesiae (*Introitus*: Gen. 28, 17). 1117 *illud superius in Calvaria* = 997-999. 1121

Missa defunctorum (*tractus*): *Absolve, domine, animas omnium fidelium defunctorum* ...

1122-1123 = 428-429. 1125 Most unfortunately, one or more words have disappeared; a 13th-century reader has proposed *principis et magistris*, which is not found anywhere else. Cf. J. Riley-Smith, *The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon*, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 52, 1979, p. 83-86. 1127ff See the note on lines 576-577. 1130-1131 *solis ascribitur Francis* = 1162. 1132 Wiggeri] See the note on line 1149. forcia facta] Cf. Schumann, *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon* 2, p. 336-337.

1112 post T, preter β 1112-1113 renovationem T, liberacionem B, rationem AM 1114 *cum neumate* T vero TB, post missam M, om. A 1115 *Terribilis ... locus* (*cum neumate* T) TB, om. AM 1117-1121 *partim in rasuris* T 1118 videlicet TB, om. AM 1121-1122 occasione T, om. AM, in occasione expugnationis Ierusalem occisorum B 1122 maxime ita codd. 1124-1125 ducis ... Gotefridi (Godefridi B), illius ... expeditionis (*principis et magistris* ss. m. al. T), stirpe (strupe B) Alemannorum TB, ducis illius sancte expeditionis felicitis memorie et egregii Gothfridi (A, Godefridi M) Alemannorum (om. stirpe) AM 1130 expeditione TB, om. AM 1131 etiam TB, et AM in detractatione β, detractatores e correctura T. 1132 Wiggeri (= 1149) A et ut videtur e correctura T, Wiggeri pr. T, Wigeri M, Deggeri B

quodam inter maiorem aecclesiam et Sancti Iohannis Baptistae
capellam adhuc hodie extans apparet, deleto inde nomine suo
et apposito alieno. Ad probationem et indicium despectus
nostrorum virorum et ad commendationem Francorum tale

1140 epygramma ad monumentum in latere extra legitur appositum:

ANNO MILLENO CENTENO QUO MINUS UNO
VIRGINIS A PARTU, DOMINI QUI CLARUIT ORTU,
QUINDECIES IULIO IAM PHEBI LUMINE TACTO
HIERUSALEM FRANCI CAPIUNT VIRTUTE POTENTI

1145 Contra quod ego:

Non Franci sed Francones, gladio potiores,
Hierusalem sanctam longo sub tempore captam
a paganorum solvere iugo variorum:
Franco, non Francus, Wigger, Gundram, Gotefridus
1150 dux argumento sunt haec fore cognita vero.

Quamvis autem dux Gotefridus et frater eius Balduinus, qui
post ipsum in Ierusalem rex est constitutus – quod ante eum
dux humilitatis causa de se fieri recusavit – de nostris essent
partibus, sed tamen, quia, nostratum paucis cum eis remanen-

1143 Under this line, at the bottom of the second column of f. 202^v, manuscript A adds the gloss: *quomodo Franci deceperunt Alemannos*. 1146 *Non Franci sed Francones* = 1149. 1148 *variorum*] Cf. 1110. 1149 *Franco, non Francus* = 1146. Wigger(us: 1132; elsewhere also *Wicherus, Wicherius, Guicherius*) is known from three other sources covering the years 1098-August 1101, when he died: Robertus Monachus, Recueil 3, 1866, ch. 7 (pp. 867B and 868B), and vol. 4 (1879), Baldricus (Baudri de Bourgueil), additions to the text of manuscript G (Paris, BN, *lat.* 5513, s. XII), p. 47, critical apparatus, variant 12, p. 50 v. 15 and p. 92 v. 8, and especially Albert of Aachen, book 7, ch. 1 (507B), 24 (522D: *miles egregius*), 30 (526E), 36 (531D) and 71 (*De obitu Wicheri Alemanni militis optimi*: 553B-D, cf. C: *miles magnificus*). Gundram/Guntram remains unknown.

1150 John's fervent patriotism did not inspire him to write any great poetry. I suggest the following translation of the last line: "... are real evidence that all this is (*fore* = *esse*) well known." 1153-1154 *de nostris ... partibus*] Cf. 796. 1154-1164 The construction of this long phrase is as follows: (1154) *sed tamen* (= reinforced *tamen*) (1161) *tacito eorum nomine ...* (1164) *dominantur*, (1154) *quia* (*nostratum paucis ...* (1156) *redeuntibus*) *tota civitas ...* (1161) *habentibus*.

1137 *hodie* TB, *om.* AM 1138 *et* TB, *om.* AM 1144 (*et* 1147) *Hierusalem* T, *Ierusalem* β 1145 *habet* T, *om.* β 1149 *Gundram* T, *Guntram* AM, *Guntrum* B Gotefridus T, Godefridus AM, Gadefridus B 1150 *sunt haec* TB, *sibimet* AM 1151 *Gotefridus* T, *Gothfridus* A, *Godefridus* BM Balduinus TB, *Baldewinus* AM 1154 *sed tamen* T, *sed om.* β *quia* BT, *om.* AM

- 1155 tibus et aliis quam pluribus magno desiderio et festinatione ad
 natale solum redeuntibus, tota civitas occupata est ab aliis
 nacionibus, scilicet Francis, Lotharingis, Normannis, Provincia-
 libus, Alvernīs, Hyspanis et Burgundionibus simul in eadem
 expeditione convenientibus, sic, ut nulla pars civitatis etiam in
 1160 minima platea esset Alemannis distributa, ipsis non curantibus
 nec animum ibidem remanendi habentibus, tacito eorum nomine
 solis Francis liberatio sanctae urbis ascribitur, qui et hodie
 cum aliis prenomīnatis gentibus urbi prefatae adiacenti provin-
 ciae dominantur. Quae utique Christianitatis provincia iam
 1165 dudum terminos suos ultra Nilum versus meridiem et ultra
 Damascum versus orientem extendisset, si tanta copia Aleman-
 norum, quanta est istorum, adesset. Sed his inpresentiarum
 omissis ad propositam materiam revertamur.

- Ventum est ad implecionem sexti sacramenti et solutionem
 1170 sexti sigilli, quod estimatur per ascensionem domini nostri
 consummatum in Monte Oliveti, in eo loco ubi hodie extat
 magna aecclesia, in cuius medio, magno foramine quodam aperto,
 designatur locus ascensionis dominicae, a quo, discipulis suis
 aliisque viris Galileis una cum matre sua admirantibus, in
 1175 caelum nube baiula est elevatus, premissis discipulis mandato
 ne a Iherosolimis discederent priusquam spiritum paraclitum a
 patre promissum ad plenariam sui confortationem acciperent.
 Quod et factum est decima die ab ascensione domini et quin-

1155-1164 See p. 125 (1154-1164). 1155-1156 Cf. Daniel 13, 50: *Reversus est ergo populus cum festinatione.* 1157-1158 Cf. 1447-1453. 1162 *solis Francis ... ascribitur* = 1130-1131. 1165-1166 Cf. Ier. 10, 20: *non est qui extendat ultra tentorium meum.* 1173-1175 Act. 1, 9. 1175-1177 Ioh. 14, 26; 15, 26; 16, 7.

1157 Normannis TB, Nortmannis AM 1158-1159 eadem AM (cf. 1124-1125.1129-1130), om. T (Alvernīs ... convenientibus om. B) 1159 (= 896) sic ut M, sicut TBA 1160 esset Alemannis T, Alemannis esset β 1161 eorum nomine T, nomine eorum β 1163-1164 *partim in rasuris* T 1165 terminos suos β, suos terminos T 1166 tanta TB, ibi *add.* AM 1167-1168 his (sr.) ... omissis T, inpresentiarum omissis aliis B, inpresentiarum his (hii A) omissis AM 1169 .VI. Sigillum (Sigillum .VI. B) *in margine* B et m² T 1171 consummatum *correci*, consummatam *codd.* 1172 magno foramine quodam TB, magna foramine quodam B, magna quodam foramine AM. Cf. 1201, *app. cr.* 1173 suis ... 1175 baiula TB, presentibus *tantum* AM 1174 aliisque T, aliis B (-AM) 1175 discipulis AM, discipuli B, a discipulis *in* ad discipulos *corr.* T 1176 ne a (= 41, cf. 763) I(h)erosolimis TB, ab Ierosolimis ne AM 1176 priusquam ... 1177 acciperent TB (a patre *in ras.* T), sed expectarent promissum paraclitum AM 1177 sui T, suis B (-AM) 1178 *alt.* et ... 1179 Pentecostes TB, om. AM

- quagesima die a resurrectione, videlicet in die Pentecostes,
 1180 discipulis in quodam conclavi prefati aedificii in Monte Syon,
 ubi et dominus noster dicitur cenasse, manentibus et inpletio-
 nem promissi expectantibus, quod adhuc in eodem loco pictura
 extante de musivo opere in sanctuario absidae eiusdem aeccle-
 siae demonstratur. Nam ibi duodenarius apostolorum numerus
 1185 cum ipsorum imaginibus, Spiritu sancto in forma ignearum
 linguarum ad capita singulorum descendente, per similitudinem
 picturae continetur cum tali epygrammate:

FACTUS EST REPENTE DE CAELO SONUS ADVENIENTIS

- et caetera. In eadem aeclesia, ad dexteram scilicet in introitu
 1190 eius, a latere designatur locus cum politis tabulis de marmore
 in modum ciborii, ubi beata virgo Maria emissio spiritu a presenti
 dicitur migrasse seculo, ubi et filius suus dominus noster Iesus
 Christus animam suam in iuxta posito pariete presentibus apo-
 stolis depingitur assumere. In aedificiolo autem eodem loco su-
 1195 perposito in circuitu talis reperitur superscriptio:

EXALTATA EST SANCTA DEI GENITRIX SUPER CHOROS AN-
GELORUM

- In eadem die transmigrationis eius, cunctis duodecim apostolis
 domini ex sua dispositione tunc presentibus, corpus ipsius a
 1200 Monte Syon in aeclesiam Vallis Iosaphat ab eisdem discipulis
 est delatum et ibidem in medio criptae, miro tabulatu marmoreo
 et egregia pictura colore vario exornatae, est honorifice sepul-

1180-1182 Act. 1, 13 and 2, 1-4. 1180 *prefati*: 834ff. 1188-1189
 Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 224, nr. 2847 (et caetera: *spiritus vehementis*: Act. 2, 2).
 1191 in *modum ciborii* = 1204. 1196-1197 (= 1258) See the note on Th
 856-857. On the reading *est* see the introduction, pp. 25-26. 1198-1203 Fr
 66, 10-11. 1201 (1204) *miro tabulatu marmoreo* = 322.

1179 (*cf.* 1386) *pr.* die T, *om.* B (-AM) Pentecostes T, Pentecosten B
 (-AM) 1180 *prefati* β, conclavi illius *prefati in ras.* T 1180-1181 Syon ...
 manentibus β, manentibus *post* Syon (*in margine*) *inseruit* T 1181-1182 ubi ...
 cenasse *et et* ... expectantibus *trp. m²* T *numerus adhibitibus arabicis* et inpletionem
 (*ex in prolatione* T) ... expectantibus TB, *om.* AM 1182-1183 pictura extante
 TB, extante pictura AM 1183 in ... absite (*sic, cf.* 952) T, in ... absistere B,
 in abside, *omisso* sanctuario, AM eiusdem AM *et ex eius* T, eius B 1185
 in ... 1186 linguarum TB, in igneis linguis AM 1186-1187 similitudinem
 picturae (*cf.* 1222-1223) T, picture similitudinem B, picturae *om.* AM 1188
 de ... advenientis T, *om.* AM, advenientis *om.* B 1190 a latere BA, altare TM
 1191-1192 a AM, *om.* TB (dicitur seculo transmigrasse B) 1194 edificulo
 β, aedificio T autem TB, *om.* AM 1196 est TB, es AM 1196-1197
 super ... angelorum TB, *om.* AM 1199 domini TB, *om.* AM 1201 in medio
 criptae TB, in medio cripta (*cf.* 1172, *app. cr.*) AM 1202 exornatae *edd.*,
 exornata *codd.* 1202-1203 sepultum] *cetera desiderantur in AM*

tum. Cuius sepulturae, licet corpore absente, egregia tam in
 tabulatu marmoreo quam in argento et auro in modum ciborii
 1205 superposita extat structura, cui tale appositum est epygramma:

HIC IOSAPHAT VALLIS, HINC EST AD SYDERA CALLIS.
 IN DOMINO FULTA FUIT HIC MARIA SEPULTA,
 HINC EXALTATA CAELOS PETIT INVIOLOTA
 SPES CAPTIVORUM, VIA, LUX ET MATER EORUM

- 1210 Benedicto 'corpore absente', quia, ut dicitur, iuxta morem He-
 breorum infra octavum diem transitus visitato et inspecto
 sepulchro corpus eius non est repertum, unde et pie creditur
 non tantum animam sed etiam corpus eius a dilecto filio suo
 cum glorificatione fuisse assumptum, quod tamen Iheronimus
 1215 potius hesitando quam asserendo videtur innuere in epistola
 illa *Cogitis me, o Paula et Eustochium*, et caetera. Quicquid
 autem de hoc sit, nos credimus beatam virginem Mariam ex
 hoc solo, quod meruit suum portare creatorem, dignam fore
 omni honore et beatificatione non tantum in anima sed etiam
 1220 in corpore, et filium suum summe benivolum et summe poten-
 tem id velle et posse. Honoratur quoque et veneratur eadem
 eius sepultura ratione cuiusdam consorcii ad similitudinem
 honorificentiae, quae exhibetur sepulchro dilecti filii sui. In
 introitu eiusdem criptae talis pictura et scriptura legitur ap-
 1225 posita:

HEREDES VITAE, DOMINAM LAUDARE VENITE
 PER QUAM VITA DATUR MUNDIQUE SALUS REPARATUR

1203 *corpore absente* = 1210. 1204 *tabulatu marmoreo* = 1201 (322). in
modum ciborii = 1191. 1206-1209 = Th 842-845. 1210 *corpore absente* =
 1203. 1213 *non tantum ... corpus eius* cf. 1219-1220. 1214-1216 *Cogitis me* 7-
 12, ed. Ripberger, *Der Pseudo-Hieronymus-Brief IX "Cogitis me"*, Freiburg 1962, pp.
 59-63; CCCM 56C, pp. 111-115. See (the notes on) lines 186, 1229-1232 and
 1252-1254. 1216-1217 *Quicquid ... sit* = 889-890. 1219-1220 *non tantum ...*
corpore cf. 1213. 1226-1227 = Th 837-838.

1204 *tabulatu* (= 1201): *tabulato* T, *tabulatum* (marmoreo) B 1206 *sydera*
 T et Tb 842, *sidea* B 1207 *fulta* T et Tb 843, *fultu* B 1210 *quia* T, *quam*
 B 1211 *diem transitus* T, *transitum diem* B 1213 *animam* T, *suam* add.
 B. Cf. 1219-1220 1214 *quod tamen Iheronimus* T, *Quod etiam gestus*
 (Iheronimus *m. rec.*) B 1215-1216 *epistola illa* B, *illa epistola* T 1217 (= 1322-1323)
virginem Mariam T, *Mariam virginem* B 1218 *solo* T, *seculo* B
 1219 *beatificatione* T, *glorificatione* (= 1214) B 1221 *id velle* T, *in duelle*
 B 1221 *veneratur ...* 1223 *exhibetur* T, *om.* B 1223 *sui* B, *ss.* T 1226
dominam Tb 837, *dominum* TB *laudare* T et Tb 837, *laudate* B 1227
reparatur Tb 838 et e *correctura* T, *reperitur* B et pr. T

Ex parte sinistra imago Iheronimi hanc continet scripturam:

1230 Monstratur autem sepulchrum eius cernentibus nobis usque in
presens in Vallis Iosaphat medio, ubi in eius honore fabricata
est aecclesia miro lapideo tabulatu, in qua sepulta fuisse ab
omnibus affirmatur. In dextera vero eiusdem introitus imago
Basilii continet haec:

MATRIS CHRISTI DIGNITATE
1235 ET EXCELSA POTESTATE
EST REPERTUS IULIANUS
SEVUS HOSTIS ET PROFANUS.
NAM DEFUNCTUM HUNC PROSTRAVIT
SICUT MATER IMPERAVIT.
1240 SALVATRICI SIT REGINAE
LAUS ET HONOR SINE FINE. AMEN.

Haec et alia plurima ad laudem virginis in introitu criptae per
picturam sunt apposita, sed in interiori parte in parietibus hinc
inde circa tumbam existentibus et in laqueari talis scriptura
1245 est apposita, in dextro pariete:

MARIA VIRGO ASSUMPTA EST AD AETHEREUM THALAMUM
et caetera, postea in circuitu:

VIDI SPECIOSAM SICUT COLUMBAM

1229-1232 This whole passage has been taken from the same treatise *Cogitis me* that was quoted in lines 1214-1216: ch. 8, ed. Ripberger p. 60, CCCM 56C, p. 112: *Monstratur autem sepulchrum eius cernentibus nobis usque ad praesens in Vallis Iosaphat medio, quae vallis est inter montem Sion et montem Oliveti posita, quam et tu, o Paula, oculis aspexisti, ubi in eius honore fabricata est ecclesia miro lapideo tabulatu, in qua sepulta fuisse, ut scire potestis, ab omnibus ibidem praedicatur; sed nunc vacuum esse cernentibus ostenditur.* 1234-1241 See the introduction, pp. 9-10. 1246-1247 Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 328, nr. 3707 (et caetera: *in quo rex regum stellato sedet solio*) (Assumptio s. Mariae). 1248-1250 Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 537, nr. 5407 (Commune virginum).

1228 imago T, in mago B continet T, om. B *inscriptio desideratur, in T spatium 3/4 lineae relicto* 1229 nobis T, autem nobis B 1230 Vallis *correx* (cf. *adn.*): valle TB, in valle Iosaphat, in medio *Tobler* 1233 Basillii T, rasilii B continet T, continetur B 1234 matris T, matrix B 1236 Iulianus T, iubanus B 1237 sevus T, servus B 1242 (= 1369) plurima T, plura B, *sed cf. 1155.1377.1452-1453: (alii)quam plures* 1243 *sed in B, in om. T* 1244 inde B, sr. T laqueari T, laquearibus B (cf. 1243 parietibus et 1244 existentibus). Cf. 374: laqueariis 1246 ad ... thalamum T, om. B 1247 postea TB, non post ea in ... 1252 Syon T, om. B

et caetera usque

1250

ET LILIUM CONVALLIUM

ibique subiungitur:

VIDERUNT EAM FILIAE SYON. HINC CERTE GLORIOSA VIRGO
CAELOS ASCENDIT: ROGO, GAUDETE, QUIA INEFFABILITER
SUBLIMATA CUM CHRISTO REGNAT IN AETERNUM

1255 In anteriori:

ASSUMPTA EST MARIA IN CAELUM

Ex opposito latere:

EXALTATA EST SANCTA DEI GENITRIX

et caetera, et in medio:

1260

MULTITUDO ANGELORUM ASTANTIUM IN CIRCUITU CIRCA
BEATAM MARIAM IN THRONO RESIDENTEM, PER QUAM FACTA
VIA AD CAELESTIA REGNA DECLARATUR

Nunc vero, visis his breviter quae ad solutionem sexti sigilli
per facta domini nostri Iesu Christi pertinent – nam septimi
1265 solutio adhuc est implenda, quae sicut diximus erit dies iudicii
– his, inquam, visis et summatim locis, in quibus haec acta
sunt, cum descriptione etiam aliorum locorum his adiacentium
denotatis, ad ipsam sanctam civitatem Iherusalem per venera-
bilia loca nova et de novo exstructa et in cultum divinum

1252-1254 viderunt ... filiae] Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 536, nr. 5395 (Assumptio
s. Mariae, cf. *Cogitis me* (above, note on lines 1214-1216), 95, ed. Ripberger, p.
104, 3 = CCCM 56C, p. 153, 811-812: *quam viderunt omnes filiae Sion*). hinc
... aeternum] *Cogitis me* 23, ed. Ripberger, p. 67, 19 - 68, 1 = CCCM 56C, p.
119, 187-189: *Hodie namque gloriosa semper virgo caelos ascendit: rogo, gaudete, quia, ut
ita fatear, ineffabiliter sublimata cum Christo regnat in aeternum*, based on Hesbert, CAO
3, p. 256, nr. 3105: *Hodie Maria virgo caelos ascendit: gaudete, quia cum Christo regnat
in aeternum*. 1256 See the note on Th 852-853. 1258-1259 See 1196-1197.

1260-1262 Cf. Th 865-870. 1262 ad caelestia regna] Cf. *Exaltata est* ...
(1258 = Th 856-857); *Orationes diversae* (Ad postulandam humilitatem), *postcomm.*,
et *passim*. 1265 sicut diximus] 253-254. 1268-1269 per ... loca nova et de novo
exstructa cf. 1071-1072.

1249-1252 u. ad 1247 1256 Maria (= 1246) T, hinc (= 1252) add. B
1258 est TB, es Th 856 1262 caelestia regna T, regna celestia B 1264
nam T, non B 1265 est ... erit B, est ... est T 1266 acta e correctura T,
om. B 1267 sunt T, ab ea add. B etiam T, et B 1268 denotatis T,
denotatas B ipsam B, etiam (= 1267) add. T 1268-1269 per ... nova et
de novo correcti coll. 1071: per sancta (sancta exp. T) nova et venerabilia loca de
novo TB

- 1270 mancipata infra muros describenda redeamus, hoc etiam per
adiectionem cognito quod Iudas in eadem civitate aureos accepit
pro traditione domini nostri, cum quibus emptus est ager ille
Acheldemach, id est ager sanguinis, deputatus sepulturae pe-
regrinorum usque in diem hodiernum, qui situs est ad sinistram
1275 Montis Syon secus viam quae ducit Efrata, super quem agrum
est mons Geon iunctus, in quo rex Salemon regium diadema
suscepit et alii reges in eodem monte inungi solebant. Et (nota)
quod dominus noster in medio Iherusalem suscitavit puellam a
morte et in ea multa est operatus miracula. Iuxta aecclesiam
1280 Sancti Sepulcri, quam superius descripsimus, ex opposito versus
meridiem est pulchra aecclesia in honore sancti Iohannis Bap-
tistae constructa, cui adiunctum est hospitale, in quo per di-
versas mansiones maxima multitudo infirmorum tam mulierum
quam virorum colligitur, fovetur et maxima expensa cotidie
1285 reficitur, quorum summam tunc temporis cum essem presens
ab ipsis servitoribus hoc referentibus ad duo milia languentium
fuisse cognovi, ex quibus aliquando infra noctem et diem plus-
quam quinquaginta mortui exportantur, iterum atque iterum
pluribus de novo accedentibus. Quid plura? Eadem domus tot
1290 homines tam extra quam intus suis sustentat victualibus, preter
infinitam elemosinam quae cotidie datur pauperibus hostiatim
panem querentibus et extra manentibus, quod certe summa
sumptuum nequaquam

1271 aureos] See the note on lines 881-882. 1271-1274 Matth. 27, 3-8
(usque in hodiernum diem). 1272-1277 Fr 61, 8-11. 1276 mons Geon iunctus,
in quo mistaken for mons Geon, iunctus in quo ... (Fr 61, 10); cf. 484. 1276-1277
3 Reg. 1, 33-46. 1277 Et nota cf. 990. 1278-1279 Fr 57, 7-8. Cf. Ps. 73,
12: deus ... operatus est salutem in medio terrae. 1280 superius] 1046ff. 1281ff
See also the equally enthusiastic description by Th 465ff. 1283-1284 Act.
5, 14: multitudo virorum ac mulierum. 1285 cum essem presens] Cf. 61. 1286
ad duo milia languentium] Cf. Th 474: lectorum ... numerum millenarium vidimus
excedere. For a plan of the hospital, see B. Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Die Vasallen
Christi*, 1988, p. 109. 1288 3 Reg. 22, 16 (cf. Horace, *Serm.* 1, 10, 39, or
Virgil, *Aen.* 8, 527): iterum atque iterum. 1289 Eadem domus = 1303.1371.1377.
1289ff Cf. 1373-1376. 1290 tam extra quam intus = 1342-1343.

1271 aureos B, argenteos e correctura T, cf. 881-882, app. cr. et adn. 1273
Acheldemach, id est ager T(Fr), om. B 1275 Efrata T, Eufraatha B quem
T, om. B 1276 est ... iunctus T, mons Geon ructus B 1277 nota Tobler, cf.
990 1279 et ... miracula T, et miracula in ea multa est operatus B 1280
Sancti ... 1281 aecclesia T, per ὁμοιοτέλευτον om. B 1281 honore B, honorem
T 1283-1284 tam mulierum quam virorum T, tam virorum quam mulierum
B 1284 fovetur T, favetur B 1287 aliquando T, om. B 1288 atque T,
et B 1290 (= 1306) sustentat T, sustentant B 1291 quae T, quam B
datur pauperibus B, pauperibus datur T 1292 certe T, certa B 1293
nequaquam T, nequam B

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| | T | | B |
| | potest deprehendi, | | ab aliquo discreto scire volenti pot- |
| 1295 | etiam ab eius do- | | est modo aliquo deprehendi, etiam |
| | mus procuratori- | | ab eius domus dispensatoribus et |
| | bus et dispensato- | | procuratoribus, qui valde sunt de- |
| | ribus. | | voti servicio helemosinae faciendae |
| | | | infirmis et egentibus venientibus un- |
| 1300 | | | decumque. |

Preter horum omnium siquidem expensam tam <in> infirmis quam in pauperibus aliis factam

- | | | | |
|------|--|--|--------------------|
| | T | | B |
| | eadem domus | | eadem sancta domus |
| | multas universis militaribus rebus instructas pro defensione | | |
| 1305 | terrae Christianorum ab incursione Sarracenorum passim per | | |
| | castella sua sustentat personas. Iuxta eandem Beati Iohannis | | |
| | aeccliesiam est cenobium sanctimonialium in honore sanctae | | |
| | MARIAE constructum et est fere contiguum in capite cum ae- | | |
| | dificiis prefatae aeccliesiae vocaturque Ad Sanctam MARIAM | | |
| 1310 | Maiorem. Non longe abhinc in eodem ordine eiusdem plateae | | |
| | est cenobium monachorum, item in honore sanctae Mariae | | |
| | constructum et vocatur Ad Sanctam MARIAM Latinam, | | |

- | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|
| | B |
| | eo quod Latini ipsum et hospitale |
| | Sancti Iohannis dicuntur construxis- |
| 1315 | se et postea se abinvicem divise- |
| | runt, |

- ubi testa capitis sancti Philippi apostoli in magna veneratione habetur et etiam cum devotione advenientibus et id postulanti-
 bus ostenditur. Iuxta illam plateam quae a Porta David versus
 1320 Templum per descensum dirigitur, in latere dextro prope Turrim
 David est cenobium monachorum Armenorum, in honore sancti

1294 (B) *volenti* (= *volente*) cf. 871-872: *secedenti ... redeunte*. 1303 *eadem domus* = 1289. 1310 *non longe abhinc* = 1323-1324. 1317-1318 *in magna veneratione habetur* = 1327-1328. 1318-1319 *advenientibus ... ostenditur* cf. 1333. 1320 *per descensum* = 1324.

1301 siquidem T, *om.* B in *correci* 1304 multas T, multum B 1305 Sarracenorum T, paganorum B 1306 sua T, *om.* B sustentat T, sustentant B, cf. 1290 1309 aeccliesiae T, Sancti Iohannis (= 1306-1307) *add.* B 1314-1315 (B) *d(icitu)r et adinvicem* B 1317 capitis T, vel capud B 1318 et id... 1319 plateam T, iuxta portam plateam illam B 1321 Armenorum T, Armeniorum B

Sabe abbatis reverentissimi, pro quo etiam adhuc vivente beata virgo Maria multa fecit miracula, constitutum. Ibidem non longe abhinc per descensum ultra aliam plateam est magna aecclesia
 1325 in honore sancti Iacobi Maioris constructa, ubi monachi habitant Armeni et habent etiam ibidem magnum hospitale pro colligendis pauperibus suae linguae. Ibi quoque in magna veneratione habetur testa eiusdem apostoli: fuit enim ab Herode decollatus, cuius corpus discipuli sui in Ioppe navi impositum.

T	B
1330 in Galiciam	in regnum Hispaniae apud Galiciam divinitus

detulerunt, capite suo in Palestina remanente eadem testa adhuc in eadem aecclesia peregrinis advenientibus ostenditur. In descensu eiusdem plateae versus portam, qua itur ad Templum, ad
 1335 dexteram manum est quoddam diverticulum per longam porticum, in qua via est hospitale cum aecclesia, quae fit de novo in honore sanctae Mariae et vocatur 'Domus Alemannorum', cui pauci vel nulli alterius linguae homines aliquid boni conferunt. In eadem via versus portam, qua itur ad Montem Syon, est
 1340 quaedam capella in honore sancti Petri aedificata, in cuius cripta satis in profundo abscondita dicitur carcer fuisse, in quo beatus Petrus, ferreis cathenis ligatus, custodia militum tam extra quam intus adhibita iussu Herodis diligenter servabatur, sed ea diligentia elusa est divina potentia operante. Nam eadem nocte
 1345 angeli obsequio inter medios custodes, vinculis ferreis ruptis, ultro apertis ostiis tam carceris quam civitatis beatus Petrus

1323-1324 *non longe abhinc* = 1310. 1324 *per descensum* = 1320. 1327-1328 *in magna veneratione habetur* = 1317-1318. 1328 Act. 12, 1-2. 1333 *peregrinis advenientibus ostenditur* (cf. 1318-1319) = 1436. 1334 *versus portam, qua itur ad* = 1339. 1337-1338 See the note on 576-577. 1339 *versus portam, qua* (see 1361-1362) *itur ad* = 1334. 1341-1348 Fr 58, 1-3 (Act. 12, 3-11). 1342-1343 *tam extra quam intus* = 1290. 1344-1348 Act. 12, 6ff. 1345 *angeli obsequio* cf. 1347.

1322 Sabe T, Sabbe B quo T, qua B 1323 virgo Maria T, Maria virgo B, cf. 1217 constitutum T, Est constructum B 1325 monachi ... 1326 Armeni T, habitant monachi B 1326 etiam ibidem T, ibidem etiam B 1330-1331 (B) *divinitus* in ... *divinitus* B, *pr. divinitus delevi*. Cf. 1414-1415, *app. cr.* 1332 in Palestina remanente T, remanente in Palestina B 1333 *peregrinis ... ostenditur* (cf. 1318-1319) T, *ostenditur advenientibus peregrinis* B 1334 *itur* T, *intrat* B 1340 quaedam capella T, capella quedam B 1341 quo T, qua B 1342-1347 *partim in rasuris* T 1344 operante B, *om.* T 1345 angeli T, *om.* B ruptis T, rupis B

angeli conductu abivit illesus, dicens: *nunc scio vere quia misit dominus angelum suum*, et caetera. In introitu eiusdem aecclesiolae de eodem facto ibidem miraculo tales leguntur apppositi 1350 versiculi:

VESTIBUS INDUTUS, PETRE, SURGE, RECEDE SOLUTUS,
NAMQUE CATHENARUM SUNT VINCULA RUPTA TUARUM.
NUNC SCIO RE CERTA, CUM PORTA MICH I SIT APERTA,
O PIETAS CHRISTI, QUONIAM ME SALVIFICASTI

- 1355 In cavea eiusdem aecclesiae Ad Vincula Sancti Petri festo ibidem existente celebri missa celebratur cum collecta merito sic prolata: *deus, qui beatum Petrum apostolum a vinculis in hoc loco absolutum illesum abire fecisti*, et caetera. Ecclesiola eadem modica est nec adeo redivitibus ditata vel cultu ornata, sicut 1360 tantum divinum miraculum et tantum apostolorum principem concederet. Porta illa, qua dirigitur versus Montem Syon, vocatur Porta Ferrea, quae ultro fuit aperta angelo et Petro. In descensu prioris illius et maioris plateae, a qua via iam dicta declinat, est porta magna, qua patet introitus in illud latum 1365 atrium Templi, ad dexteram manum versus meridiem est palatium quod quondam Salomon dicitur extruxisse, ubi est stabulum mirabile capacitatis tantae, quod plusquam duo milia equorum seu mille et quingenta camelorum possit capere. Iuxta idem palacium milites Templarii habent plurima adiuncta aedificia magna et ampla cum exstructione novae et magnae 1370

1347 angeli conductu cf. 1345. 1347-1348 Act. 12, 11. 1351-1354 = Th 793-796. 1353 Nunc scio re certa] See 1347 (Act. 12, 11: Mass of 1 August (*Vincula Petri*, Introitus)). 1357-1358 Mass *Vincula Petri* (1 August): Collecta. 1361 *Porta illa, qua ...* See 1339. 1363 via iam dicta] 1334. 1364-1365 illud latum atrium Templi] Cf. 409. 1367-1368 *duo milia ... capere* cf. Th 692-693.

1347 angeli conductu T, angelico ductu B abivit T, abiit tunc B 1347-1348 quia ... suum T, om. B 1348 In T, om. B 1348-1349 eiusdem in margine) aecclesiolae T, eadem (sic) ecclesie B 1354 Christi, quoniam T et Th 796, tibi sit laus, que B 1356 celebri T, om. B missa celebratur (= 1088-1089, cf. 1114 et 1401-1402) B, missam celebravi T merito B, ibidem (= 1355) add. T 1356-1357 prolata T, probata B 1357 in hoc loco B et in margine m² T 1358 absolutum illesum T, om. B 1359 (et 1372) redivitibus T, redditibus B 1360-1361 apostolorum principem concederet B, principem apostolorum diceret (sic) T 1361 qua correxi coll. 1334.1339.1397: quae add. Syon T, et add. B 1364 in illud T, istud B 1366 extruxisse (cf. 1269.1370) T, construxisse B 1367 plusquam T, quam B 1368 et T, om. B possit capere T, capere possit B 1369 (= 1242) plurima T, plura B

aecclisiae, nondum tamen consummatae. Eadem namque domus multas habet possessiones et infinitos redditus tam in illa terra quam in alienis provinciis. Eleemosinam quidem facit satis magnam in Christi pauperes, sed non in decima parte eius elemosinae, quam faciunt

T
Hospitalales.

B
Hospitalarii de Sancto Iohanne.

Eadem domus habet quam plures milites pro tuenda terra Christianorum, sed hii nescio quo infortunio sive ex falso sive ex vero quoad famae relationem aspersi sunt perfidiae dolo, quod tamen manifeste probatum est per factum illud apud Damascum cum rege Cunrado. Iuxta aedificia eorundem Templariorum versus orientem super murum civitatis fuit hospicium iusti Symeonis, in quo sepe beatam Mariam virginem matrem domini hospitalitatis et familiaritatis causa dicitur recepisce, fovisse sumptusque alimenta prebuisse, sicut et ea nocte fecit, quando in sequenti die, videlicet quadragesimo die a nativitate domini, ipsum puerum cum matre sua in templo oblaturus, in ulnis suis ad altare eum retinens et offerens, spiritu prophetico cognoscens eum illum fore, qui per tot et tanta retro spacia ab antiquis patribus inenarrabili desiderio esset expectatus, intulit propheticæ: *nunc dimittis, domine, servum tuum in pace*, et caetera. In eadem domo, modo in aecclisiam transmutata, beatus Symeon quiescit sepultus, ut ille versus ibi appositus indicat.

1371 nondum tamen consummatae] Cf. Th 706-707. Eadem ... domus = 1289. 1373-1376 Cf. 1289ff. 1377 (1371) Eadem domus = 1289. 1380-1381 Konrad III (1148). Cf. William of Tyre 17, 7, esp. lines 31-40 (CCCM 63A, p. 769). Charges of treachery were made against nearly everyone liable to be bribed. 1386-1392 Cf. Luc. 2, 25-35. 1388 spiritu prophetico = 267. 1391-1392 (= 267-268) Luc. 2, 29. 1393 quiescit sepultus cf. 175. ille versus: 1391-1392.

1371 namque T, om. B 1372 infinitos redditus (cf. 1359) T, redditus infinitos B 1373 alienis provinciis B, aliis partibus T 1374 in decima B et ex undecima T 1374-1375 eius elemosinae T, om. B 1377-1378 terra Christianorum (= 1305) B, Christianorum terra T 1378 quo infortunio T, om. B 1379 quoad famae edd., quod ad fame T, quod ad famem B. Cf. 26.994 1380 tamen T, tantum B 1381 cum rege Cunrado T, cumrado B 1381-1382 Templariorum T, templorum B 1383 virginem T, om. B 1386 (cf. 1179) die ... die T, alt. die om. B 1387 puerum (erum e correctura) T (puerum Iesum Luc. 2, 27), adhuc parvum (cf. 1425-1426) B in templo oblaturus (cf. 266) T, oblaturus in templo B 1388 ad altare T, om. B 1389 et T, om. B 1390 esset post desiderio T, post patribus B 1390-1391 intulit propheticæ T, Cuius propheticæ intulit B 1391 servum ... pace T, om. B 1393 Symeon B, Symon T

In eadem aecclesia infra in cripta retinentur adhuc et osten-
1395 duntur cum magna veneracione Christi de ligno cunabula.

In opposito eiusdem atrii de Templo, scilicet versus septen-
trionem, ad portam qua itur ad Vallem Iosaphat, aecclesia
magna in honore sanctae Annae constructa, in qua per picturam
ostenditur qua dispositione et admonitione divina ex ipsa et
1400 Ioachim sit concepta beata virgo Maria, sicut in Vita beatae
Annae largius cognoscitur, cuius festum in die sancti Iacobi
Maioris cum magna sollempnitate ibidem celebratur, cui presens
interfui. In eadem aecclesia servit deo collegium sanctimonia-
lium et utinam sacrosanctarum. In exitu eiusdem aecclesiae ad
1405 dexteram manum non longe per diverticulum est Probatice
Piscina, quam tempore Iesu certis terminis angelus domini
solebat movere. Quicumque autem infirmus post mocionem
aquae prior intrabat, a quacumque detinebatur infirmitate sanus
fiebat. *Probaton* grece 'peculiaris' dicitur eo, quod in sacrificiis
1410 inde solebant abluui exta pecudum: erat quippe rubea aqua ex
hostiis quae ibi mundabantur. Ante Probaticeam Piscinam lan-
guidum sanitati restituit Iesus, dicens ei: *tolle grabatum tuum
et ambula*.

Inde ab eadem platea, quae de Porta Iosaphat sursum, in
1415 proxima via, quae ab hac declinat platea, ad dexteram manum
versus murum civitatis est illa aecclesia in honore sanctae
Mariae Magdalenae facta, ubi sunt monachi Iacobitae, de qua
iam diximus quae dicenda novimus. In prefata platea de Porta
Vallis Iosaphat sicut itur per directum versus plateam illam,
1420 quae ad Portam Sancti Stephani a septentrione versus plateas
illas triplices, immo multiplices diversarum rerum venalium

1400-1401 *De nativitate Mariae* 2-5, ed. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 1876, pp. 113-116. - BHL 483-488. 1401-1402 25 July. 1402-1403 presens interfui] Cf. 61. 1405-1413 Fr 57, 1-7 (Marc. 2, 3-12; Ioh. 5, 2-9). 1407-1409 *Quicumque ... a quacumque ... fiebat* (Ioh. 5, 4) = 589-590. 1412 *sanitati restituit* = 488. 1412-1413 Marc. 2, 9 (11); Ioh. 5, 8. 1418 diximus] 779ff.

1420-1423 The construction is: *quae* (ad ... a septentrione: northwards) ... a fronte ... dirigitur.

1394 infra T, intra B adhuc T, om. B 1395 cum magna veneracione T, om. B 1397 ad vallem T, valle B aecclesia T, est ecclesia B 1398 sanctae T, om. B 1400 Maria B, om. T 1400 Vita ... 1402 sollempnitate T, veritate tantum B 1402 ibidem celebratur T, celebratur ibidem B 1402-1403 cui ... interfui T, om. B 1408-1409 sanus fiebat *hoc loco* T(Fr), post (1408) intrabat B 1409 sacrificiis T(Fr), sacrificii B 1410 exta T(Fr), exea B 1414 ab T, in B 1414 sursum in ... 1415 manum sursum T (alt. sursum utpote e 1414 repetitum delevi; cf. 1331, app. cr.), in ... manum om. B 1418 de porta T, deposita B 1419 plateam illam B, illam plateam (cf. app. cr. ad 1318-1319) T 1420 a septentrione T, ad septentrionem B 1421 venalium B et e venerabilium corr. T

- representatrices, a fronte maioris Sancti Sepulchri aecclesiae dirigitur, in medio, inquam, illius plateae est quidam arcus lapideus antiquus ultra eandem plateam curvatus, sub qua
- 1425 dicitur beata virgo MARIA cum felici et beata prole sua adhuc parvula et infanti quievisse et eidem lac ibidem prebuisse. Quae res gesta ibi facta pictura ostenditur et idem locus, circa aedificationem aliquantulum a publico usu discretus, sine aecclesiae appositione venerabilis sub veneratione debita habetur
- 1430 et colitur. Item de platea a Porta Sancti Stephani directa sursum ad latus aecclesiae Sancti Sepulchri, non multum longe ab ea versus septentrionem, est parva platea, iuxta quam in quadam aecclesia Sirorum quiescit sancti Kariton martyris corpus, quod ibi a Syris monachis in magna veneratione habetur et fere
- 1435 adhuc integrum in quadam lignea arcellula reconditum elevato cooperculo peregrinis advenientibus ostenditur. Idem sanctus in cenobio suo iuxta flumen Iordanis sito una cum monachis suis pro confessione nominis Christi a Sarracenis fuit occisus, sicut supra retulimus.
- 1440 Sicsic describendo venerabilia loca in sancta civitate Iherusalem, incipiendo ab aecclesia Sancti Sepulchri circumeundo per Portam David usque ad eandem reversi sumus, plures omittendo capellas et inferiores aecclesias, quas habent ibi

T	B
diversarum nationum	homines diversarum linguarum et na-
1445 et linguarum homi-	tionum, Christicolae veri omnes.
nes.	

Sunt namque ibi Greci, Latini, Alemanni,

1423 arcus] The *Ecce Homo* arch. 1429 venerabilis ... veneratione cf. 1434.
 1430-1432 The indications *sursum ad latus* and *non ... septentrionem* have the same meaning: slightly north of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. 1432-1436 Cf. Fr 48, 8-9. 1434 veneratione cf. 1429. 1436 peregrinis advenientibus ostenditur = 1333. 1439 supra] 176-183. 1440 Sicsic = 9. 1444-1445 diversarum (linguarum et) nationum cf. 1110. 1447-1453 I print the list of 'nations and languages' as given by both T and B. The omission, in T, of the *Franci* (1450) may well have been intentional. Cf. 1157-1158, Th 285-286, and Fulcher of Chartres 1, 13, 4.

1426 infanti T, infantula B 1426-1427 ibidem ... ibi T, ibidem ... ibidem B 1427-1428 circa edificationem B, circum aedificatione T 1428 aliquantulum B, aliquantula T 1429 appositione T, dispositione B debita T, om. B 1435 quadam T, qua B 1436 Idem B et ex Item corr. T 1438 pro confessione T, om. B 1440 venerabilia ... civitate T, venerabilia loca sancta in civitate B 1442 omittendo T, obmittendo B 1443 quas edd., quae TB habent T, om. B 1447-1452 partim in rasuris T

Ungari, T Bulgari, B
 Scoti, Navarri, Brittanni

1450 Anglici, T Anglici, Franci, B

Rutheni, Boemi, Gorgiani, Armeni, Suriani, Iacobitae, Syri, Nestoriani, Indi, Egiptii, Cepthi, Capheturici, Maroni et alii quam plures, quos longum esset enumerare, sed in his finem huius opusculi faciemus. Amen.

1448ff See p. 137 (1447-1453). 1452 *Capheturici* (*Caphetunici* B): I have been unable to discover which sect(s) are (is) meant by this word. Wherever JW's enumeration is quoted or translated, no one comments on this particular name, giving the impression that there is no problem at all (I have to thank P. Paul Devos, Bollandiste, for drawing my attention to E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina. Storia della comunità etiopica di Gerusalemme* 1, 1943, p. 28-29).

1449 Brittanni T, Briciani B 1451 Rutheni T, Rucheni B Suriani T,
 Surriani B 1452 Cepthi T, Cepti B Capheturici T, Caphetunici B 1452
 et ... 1454 Amen T, om. B 1453 huius *in rasura* T

Idus Iulii dedicatio aeclesiae Sancti Sepulchri. Eadem die festum maximum celebratur de captivitate Iherusalem facta a Christianis. De hoc ad missam introitus: *Letare Iherusalem.*

Kyrie eleyson: Cunctipotens genitor deus.

5 Oratio:

Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui virtute tua mirabili Iherusalem civitatem tuam de manu paganorum eruisti et Cristianis reddidisti, adesto nobis, quesumus, propicius, ut qui sanctam sollempnitatem annua recolimus devotione, ad supernae Ihe-

10 rusalem gaudia pervenire mereamur. Per.

Epistola: *Surge, illuminare.*

Alleluia: *Dies sanctificatus, cum graduale: Omnes de Saba.*

Evangelium: *Cum intraret Iesus Ierosolimam.*

Credo in unum.

15 Offertorium: *Dextera domini.*

Secreta:

Hanc, quesumus, domine, hostiam, quam tibi supplices offerimus, dignanter suscipe et eius ministerio nos dignos effice, ut qui de Iherusalem civitate de manu paganorum eruta hanc diem
20 agimus, celebrando celestis Ierusalem concives fieri tandem mereamur. Per.

Communio: *Hierusalem, surge.*

⟨Postcommunio⟩:

Quod sumpsimus, domine, sacrificium ad corporis et animae
25 nobis proficiat salutem, ut qui de civitatis tuae Iherusalem libertate gaudemus, in caelesti Iherusalem hereditari mereamur. Per.

*

De transfiguratione domini

1 15 July. 3 *Letare Iherusalem*: Dom. 4 Quadr. (Introitus): Hesbert, AMS, pp. 74-75, nr. 60; Linder, p. 118, nr. 61. 4 *Cunctipotens genitor deus*] Not another prayer but an indication of the melody of the *Kyrie*. 6 (= 1086-1087) *Omnipotens sempiterne deus* cf. Linder, p. 120, nr. 75. 11 (cf. 22) Is. 60, 1 (Epiphany); Linder, p. 114, nr. 11 and p. 119, nr. 64. 12 Hesbert, AMS, pp. 16-17, nr. 11 (b) and p. 199, nr. 199 (a). *Omnes de Saba*] Hesbert, AMS, pp. 24-25, nr. 18 (cf. CAO 3, p. 381, nrs. 4119 and 4120) (Epiphany); Linder, p. 114, nr. 14 and p. 119, 65. 13 Matth. 21, 10. 15 Hesbert, AMS, pp. 34-35, nr. 26, pp. 70-71, nr. 55, pp. 94-95, nr. 77 (b), p. 117, nr. 97bis; Linder, p. 120, nr. 70. 22 Cf. 11. 28-33 See 34ff.

Appendicem prorsus om. B(AM) Sine titulo T 3-4 cum neumate T 7 et nr² T 19 eruta correxī: erutam T hanc] h(un)c T, sed cf. 1: eadem die, 38: hodierna die et 49: hanc diem

⟨Oratio⟩:

- 30 Deus, qui te in monte secundum nostram substantiam trans-
formari voluisti, presta, quesumus, ut illud lumen, quod tuis
apostolis ostendere dignatus es, largiaris et nobis. Qui cum
patre.

VIII Idus Augusti celebratur transfiguratio domini in monte
35 Thabor.

Introitus: *Benedicta sit sancta* (per totum).

⟨Oratio⟩:

- Deus, qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter trans-
formatum caelitus utriusque testamenti patribus revelasti, da
40 nobis, quesumus, beneplacitis tibi actibus ad eius semper
contemplandam pertingere gloriam, in quo tuae paternitati bene
complacuisse testatus es. Per.

Secreta:

- Suscipe, quesumus, domine sancte pater omnipotens, munera
45 quae pro gloriosa filii tui transfiguratione deferimus et concede
propitius ut a temporalibus liberemur incommodis et gaudiis
connectamur aeternis. Per.

⟨Post⟩communio:

- Deus, qui hanc diem incarnati verbi tui transfiguratione tuaque
50 ad eum missa paternitatis voce consecrasti, tribue, quesumus,
ut divinis alimoniis in eius mereamur membra transfigurari, qui
haec in sui memoriam fieri precepit Iesus Christus filius tuus
dominus noster. Qui tecum.

*

XI° Kal. Decembris presentatio beatae Mariae virginis in
55 templo. Unde et haec dicitur oratio in eodem templo:

Oratio:

- Deus, qui hanc sanctam dei genitricem templum Spiritus
sancti post triennium in templo domini presentari voluisti,
respice ad devotam tibi plebem et presta ut qui eius presen-
60 tationis festa veneramur, ipsi templum in quo habitare digneris
effitiamur. Per.

34 6 August. It is not clear why lines 28-33 have not been inserted into
the main text of the liturgy of the Transfiguration (36-53). 36 Hesbert, CAO
3, p. 86, nr. 1708 and AMS, p. 173, nr. 172bis (for Trinity – the use of this
introit for the feast of the Transfiguration is rather strange). 54 21 November.

36 *Benedicta sit sancta cum neumate T* Per dominum *Tobler* 42 *es in*
marginē T

a) In superliminari aecclisiae Sancti Sepulchri epygramma:

QUID, MULIER, FLORAS? IAMIAM QUEM QUERIS ADORAS.
ME DIGNUM RECOLI IAM VIVUM TANGERE NOLI

b) Extra in introitu Calvariae:

HIC LOCUS INSIGNIS CALVARIA SANCTUS HABETUR
PRO DUCE, PRO PRECIO, PRO CRUCE, PRO LAVACHRO:
NEMPE IESUS, CRUOR ET TITULUS, SACRA CORPORIS UNDA
NOS SALVAT, REDIMIT, PROTEGIT ATQUE LAVAT

c) Intus ad depositionem domini:

A CARIS CARO CARA DEI LACRIMATA LEVATUR
A CRUCE, PRO MISERIS REX PIUS HAEC PATITUR

d) Intus prope ad simulatam domini sepulturam:

CONDITUR IN TUMULO CONDITUS AROMATE CHRISTUS,
TOLLITUR AD SUPEROS MERITI MODERAMINE IUSTUS,
GAUDET HOMO, TREPIDANT MANES, GEMIT OMNIS ABYSSUS,
EST EXCESSUS ADAE CHRISTO VENIENTE REMISSUS

e) Item ibidem sed per medium:

SUB TUMULO LAPIDIS DUM SIC CHRISTUS TUMULATUR
EIUS AD EXEQUIAS HOMINI CAELUM RESERATUR

f) Super locum nativitatis:

ANGELICAE LUMEN VIRTUTIS ET EIUS ACUMEN
HIC NATUS VERE DEUS EST DE VIRGINE MATRE

g) In superliminari introitus interioris ad sepulchrum:

CHRISTO SURGENTI LOCUS ET CUSTOS MONUMENTI
ANGELUS ET VESTIS FUIT ESTQUE REDEMPTIO TESTIS

(a) 1-2 = Th 454-455. 2 Ioh. 20, 17. (b) 3-4 *Versus rapportati*: nempe
Iesus nos salvat - cruor redimit - titulus protegit - sacra corporis unda lavat.
(f) = 166-167 and Th 1138-1139. (g) = Th 162-163: *estque* *atque* Th

Appendicem prorsus om. AM Sine titulo T, Versus B (a) In ... epygramma
T, Superliminari Sancti Sepulchri B (b) Extra in introitu T, Post extra
introitum B 2 pro duce, pro precio T, produce precio B lavachro] Intus
ad depositionem domini (= *titulum c*) *add.* B 3 unda T, sepulchri *add.* B 4
salvat ... lavat T, lavat, redemit, protegit atque lavat B (c) Intus ... domini
T, Intus prope ad simulatam (= *partem tituli d*) *post* (b) 2 lavachro B 1 lavatur
TB, *corr.* T (d) Intus ... sepulturam T, In sepultura domini (*cf. ad* (c), *titulum*)
B 3 manes T, manus B 4 est T, Per medium (*cf.* (c), *titulum*) est B
excelsus TB, *corr.* T (e) Item ... medium T, *om.* B (*cf. ad* (d) 4) 1 sic
Christus T, Christus sic B (f) 1 acumen T, accumen B (g) subliminari T
1 surgenti e resurgenti *corr.* T monumenti B *cum* Th 162, monimenti T

THEODERICUS

Omnibus sancte et individue Trinitatis cultoribus et precipue benignissimi domini nostri Iesu Christi dilectoribus Theodericus, omnium tam monachorum quam Christianorum peripsima, sic in hac vita fragili passionibus Christi communicare, ut ei impetuum feliciter mereantur conregnare.

Ea que de locis sanctis, in quibus scilicet Salvator noster, corporalem presentiam exhibens, sue beate humanitatis atque nostre redemptionis officia sive misteria implevit, vel ipsi visu cognovimus vel aliorum veraci relatu didicimus, cedulis et apicibus annotare curavimus, ut desideriis eorum, qui, cum corporali gressu illuc sequi non possunt, in declaratione eorum, que visu nequeunt attingere, vel auditu percipiant, pro posse satisfaciamus. Hoc autem studio idcirco nos desudasse lector omnis agnoscat, ut ex hac ipsa lectione sive narratione Christum in memoria semper discat habere et eum in memoria retinens studeat amare, amando ei, qui pro se passus est, compatiatur, compatiens eius desiderio accendatur, desiderio ipsius accensus a peccatis absolvatur, a peccatis absolutus gratiam ipsius consequatur, gratiam ipsius consecutus regnum celeste adipiscatur. Quod ipse conferre dignetur, qui cum patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

[I] Sicut omnibus novi ac veteris testamenti paginas legentibus liquet, terra Chanaan duodecim Israhelitice plebis tribus divina constitutione in possessionem data est, que in tres nominatas provincias, Iudeam scilicet, Samariam et Galileam divisa multis civitatibus et villis atque castellis antiquitus erat locupletata. Et harum quidem urbium omnia loca vel nomina antiquitus cunctis patebant, a modernis vero utpote adventiciis,

2 (cf. 31) *benignissimi domini nostri Iesu Christi* = 171-172. 3 1 Cor. 4, 13: *omnium peripsema usque adhuc*. Cf. manuscripts ACN of Paschasius Radbert, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, CCCM 16, p. 3 (critical apparatus 1): *monachorum omnium peripsima (peripsema)*; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, Recueil p. 162F: *gregariorum militum peripsima (-sema)*. 4 1 Petr. 4, 13: *communicantes Christi passionibus gaudete*. 4-5 (= 761) 2 Tim. 2, 12: *si sustinebimus, et conregnabimus*. 6-9 Cf. 1625-1628. 12 *visu ... auditu* = 42. *pro posse* = 932-933. 13 *lector* = 1628] Cf. 704 (and note): *auditor*. 16-17 *compariatur, compatiens* = 761. 20 Cf. the mass of 26 July, or: *qui ... gratiam conferre dignatus es*. 26 *civitatis et villis* = 478. 26 and 28 *antiquitus*.

Incipit libellus de locis sanctis a Theoderico editus (= 21). Prologus VM 8 implevit] que (= 6) *add. VM, del. Tobler* 16 *amare* V, et *add. M, cf. 48.66.147.149.285.305.662.695.799.824.930.934.987.1024.1249* 21 Amen] Incipit libellus de locis sanctis a Theoderico editus (*cf. titulum*) *add. VM* 26 et ... atque (*cf. 468, app. cr.*) V, et ... ac M (et ... atque *passim, cf. 58.89.158-159.188.467 et 468.683.686-687*) 27 *urbium omnia* V, *omnium urbium omnia* M

non nativa habitatione ibidem manentibus, preter paucorum
 30 nomina locorum, que postea suo loco narrabimus, ignorantur.
 Cum enim dilectissimus dominus noster Iesus Christus vindic-
 tam sanguinis sui, quem cruentis manibus impii Iudei in cruce
 fuderunt, exigeret, Vespasianus et Tytus, Romani principes, cum
 exercitu Iudeam intrantes templum et civitatem solo coequa-
 35 verunt, totius Iudee civitates et castella destruxerunt, ipsos
 homicidas de propriis finibus expellentes in exteris nationes
 abire compulerunt. Idcirco omnia tam populi quam totius pro-
 vincie instrumenta sive emolumenta deleta sunt, quin et si
 quorumlibet aliqua patent locorum vestigia, omnium tamen fere
 40 nomina sunt immutata.

[2] Primo itaque de Iudea, que caput Iudaici regni fuisse
 dinoscitur, quantum visu vel auditu investigare potuimus di-
 cendum. In qua civitas sancta Iherusalem quasi oculus in capite
 sita est, ex qua per mediatorem dei et <hominum> dominum
 45 nostrum Iesum Christum cunctis nationibus gratia et salus ac
 vita profluxit. Iudea ab occidente Mari Magno tangitur, a meridie
 montibus Arabie et Egipti deserto dirimitur, ab oriente Iordanis
 flumine terminatur, a septentrione Samaria et Ydumea finitur.
 Est autem Iudea plurimum montuosa, que circa ipsam sanctam
 50 civitatem in altissima prominens iuga omnes prefatos terminos
 in descensu habet, sicut e diverso ab eis ad illam tenetur
 ascensus. Ipsi autem montes in quibusdam locis durissimis
 saxorum molibus exasperantur, in aliis vero lapidibus quadra-
 ture aptissimis decorantur, in plerisque marmore Pario, rubeo
 55 et vario adornantur. Ubicumque tamen inter ipsas saxosas
 congeries aliqua forte terre gleba reperitur, omnium fructuum
 proventibus apta esse dinoscitur, unde montes et colles vinetis
 et olivetis atque ficulneis refertos esse vidimus, valles autem
 habundare frumento ac ortorum fructibus apeximus.

31 (cf. 2) *dilectissimus dominus noster Iesus Christus* = 766 and 1129-1130. 32
impii Iudei = 615. 39-40 *omnium ... immutata*] Cf. William of Tyre 19, 10,
 27-28 (and note); Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, prologue, ed. Huygens,
La tradition manuscrite de Guibert de Nogent, 1991, app. 9, 87ff. 42 *visu ... auditu*
 = 12. 43 *quasi oculus in capite* = 384-385, cf. Eccle. 2, 14: *Sapientis oculi in capite*
eius. See also 992: *quasi capite in corpore*. 44-45 1 Tim. 2, 5: *unus enim deus, unus*
et mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus. 53 *saxorum molibus* = 1609. 55-
 56 *saxosas congeries* cf. 1121. 56 *gleba reperitur* = 1170-1171. 56-57 *omnium*
fructuum proventibus apta = 1009, cf. 967. 57-58 *vinetis et olivetis* = 1355.

31 *dilectissimus* (= 766.1129) V, *dulcissimus* M 32 *cruentis Tobler, cruentibus*
 VM, *Bulst* 35 *ipsos*] *ipsas* VM 44 *hominum correxi* 48 a V, et a M,
 cf. 16 51 e *diverso* V, et *diversus* M 54 *rubio* VM (cf. Pario), *sed* cf. 1171

- 60 [3] In ipsa denique montium summa eminentia, ut Iosephus
atque Ieronimus attestantur, sita est civitas illa Iherusalem, que
universis per orbem urbibus et locis sanctior habetur et emi-
nentior, non quia a se vel per se sit sancta, sed quia ipsius dei
et domini nostri Iesu Christi eiusque pie genitricis presentia et
65 patriarcharum, prophetarum atque apostolorum necnon et alio-
rum sanctorum inhabitatione, doctrina, predicatione, martirio
fuerit illustrata. Que licet altiora quam ipsa sit montium iuga
scilicet habeat undique imminetia, tamen ipsa in monte posita
in seipsa existit colliculosa. Unde accidit ut ab omnibus circum-
70 positis montibus intuentibus in se rapiat aspectum. Denique
inter collem Moriam, in quo Templum Domini situm est, et
Montem Oliveti, qui ceteris montibus altius verticem attollit,
torrens Cedron et Vallis Iosaphat interiacet, que a Monte Gaudii,
a quo ab aquilonari parte introitus patet in civitatem, initium
75 faciens et per ecclesiam Beate Marie, que ex ipsius nomine sic
appellatur, et per sepulchrum Iosaphat regis Iudee, a cuius
occisione hoc ipsa sumpsit vocabulum, necnon et iuxta natato-
riam Siloe cursum dirigens, occurrente sibi alia valle, ab angulo
dextro civitatis per novas cisternas inter Montem Syon et agrum
80 Acheldemach cursum reflectente et duo civitatis latera complec-
tente, in profundissimam dehiscit vallem. Sepulchrum vero
Iosaphat in vallis ipsius medio quadrato opere in modum pi-
ramidis est erectum; circa quod habitacula servorum dei, scilicet
recluserum, plurima insunt, que omnia sub cura abbatis Beate
85 Marie constituta sunt. Porrigitur autem ipsa civitas ab aquilone
in meridiem per longum et ab occidente in orientem per latum,
turribus, muris et propugnaculis supra valles predictas in montis
altitudine firmissime communita. Vallum quoque sive fossatum,
extrinsecus muro appositum, muro et propugnaculis atque minis
90 munitum existit, quod 'barbicana' vocant. Portas habet septem,

60-61(-63) Iosephus] (Latin version of) *Antiquitates* 5, 78 (Loeb). Ieronimus]
E.g. *Ep.* 46, 3, CSEL 54, p. 332, 20-21: *Quanto Iudaea a ceteris provinciis, tanto haec
urbs cuncta sublimior est Iudaea.* 67-68 Cf. Ps. 124, 2: *montes in circuitu eius.* 69
colliculosa] See the introduction, note 28. 70 intuentibus = 345.432. 72
altius verticem attollit = 965-966 (410, cf. 1024). 74-75 initium faciens = 947.
76-77 a cuius ... sumpsit vocabulum = 1383-1384. 81-83 Fr 58, 15-16. 87-
88 turribus ... communita cf. 89-90.109-110.799-800.860-861.977-979.1249-1250.1600-
1601.1603-1604. in montis altitudine = 1341. firmissime (cf. 91) communita cf.
1604. 89-90 muro ... munitum cf. 87-88. propugnaculis atque minis = 1604.
90 barbicana = 109.1603.

66 martirio V, et martirio M, cf. 16 68 imminetia] im in margine M 75
ex V, om. M 82 valle (cf. 81) VM 89 atque minis V, om. M. Cf. adn. 90
barbicana (pro -nam) sic VM

quarum sex singulis noctibus usque post solis ortum firmiter
 obserantur, septima vero, muro conclusa, non nisi in die Pal-
 marum et in Exaltatione sancte crucis aperitur. Et cum ipsa
 sit civitas oblonga, quinque habet angulos, quorum unus est
 95 transversus. Platee eius omnes fere magnis lapidibus inferius
 constrate, superius vero plurime sunt opere lapideo testudinate,
 fenestris passim ad lumen recipiendum dispositis. Domus in
 altum operosa maceria porrecte tecta non nostro more culmi-
 nibus sublimata sed plano scemate habent equalia, ex quibus
 100 inundante pluvia in cisternis suis pluvialia stillicidia recipientes
 usibus suis reservant: nec enim aliis aquis utuntur, quia non
 habent. Ligna ibi sive fabricis sive ignibus apta cara sunt, quia
 mons Libanus, qui solus cedrinis, cipressinis et abieginis habun-
 dat lignis, longe ab eis est remotus nec eum propter gentilium
 105 insidias adire possunt.

[4] Turre David, incomparabili firmitate ex lapidibus qua-
 dratis infinite magnitudinis compacta et iuxta portam australem,
 que versus Bethleem viam dirigit, sita, cum adiacente
 solarario et palatio noviter edificato, fossatis et barbicanis valde
 110 munito, in proprietatem cessit regis Iherosolimitani. Sita est
 autem in arce Montis Syon, unde dicitur in libro Regum: *Cepit
 David arcem Syon*. Sita est etiam e regione Templi Domini, quo
 civitas porrigitur per latum, habens a meridie Montem Syon,
 ab oriente Montem Oliveti. Mons autem Sion ab ipsa turri usque
 115 ad ecclesiam Beate Marie, foris muros sitam, et ab ipsa ecclesia
 fere usque ad palatium Salomonis et usque ad viam, que de
 Speciosa Porta ad ipsam turrim ducit, dilatatur, Monte quidem
 Oliveti latior sed humilior. Et cum mons Moria, Valli Iosaphat
 incumbens, in quo Templum Domini et palatium Salomonis est
 120 situm, magnus collis habeatur, Mons Sion tanta fere altitudine
 illi superincumbit, quanta rursus ille Valli Iosaphat, ut supra-
 dictum est, supereminere videtur. In agro Acheldemach, quem
 ab ipso predicta tantum dividit vallis, sepultura peregrinorum
 est, in qua ecclesia sancte dei genitricis et virginis Marie habetur,

91 firmiter cf. 88 firmissime. 95-96 magnis lapidibus ... constrate = 512. 97-
 98 in altum ... maceria porrecte cf. 1251-1252 (573). Cf. 1608-1609. 98 non nostro
 more cf. 703. 98-99 tecta ... equalia cf. 703-704. 104-105 propter gentilium
 insidias = 659.799-800.860-861.978-979.1059.1085.1249.1412.1414-1415. 106-
 107 Turre ... compacta cf. 1608-1609. 109 solarario = 695. 109-110 fossatis ...
 munito cf. 87-88 (barbicanis = 90). 110 in proprietatem cessit = 685. 111-112
 2 Reg. 5, 7. 121-122 supradictum] 118-119. 122-123 Fr 61, 8-9 (Matth.
 27, 3-8).

125 ubi etiam in die sancto Palmarum quendam fratrem nostrum
defunctum nomine Adolfum, de Colonia natum, sepelivimus.
Ipsi autem agro mons Gyon incumbit, in quo, ut in libro Regum
legitur, Salomon regium dyadema suscepit. De aliis edificiis
communibus sive privatis nulla vel pauca potuimus reperire
130 signa preter domum Pilati, iuxta ecclesiam Beate Anne matris
domine nostre et iuxta Piscinam Probaticam sitam. De omni
opere ab Herode, ut Iosephus refert, facto michi plurimum
scrutanti nichil occurrit nisi unum latus, quod adhuc restat,
palatii quod vocabatur Antonia, cum porta iuxta atrium exte-
135 rius sita.

[5] Restat ergo ut de locis sanctis, propter que ipsa civitas
'sancta' vocatur, disseramus; unde a sancto sanctorum, id est a
sepulchro dominico, duximus incipiendum. Ecclesia Dominici
Sepulchri mirifico fulgens opere ab Helena regina constat esse
140 fundata, cuius exterior murus quasi per circuli circumferentiam
traductus ipsam ecclesiam facit esse rotundam, locus autem
dominici sepulchri vicem centri in ipsa ecclesia optinet. Cuius
dispositio talis est. Opus super ipsum sepulchrum erectum et
marmoreo tabulatu decenter ornatum non integram circuli ha-
145 bet circumferentiam, sed ex ipso circulo versus orientem duo
parvi parietes procedentes et tertium recipientes tria in se
continent ostiola, tres in latitudine, septem in altitudine pedes
habentia, quorum unum ab aquilone, secundum ab oriente,
tercium a meridie patet: ab aquilonali intratur, a meridiano
150 exitur, orientale custodum sepulchri usibus vacat. Inter hec tria
ostiola et quartum, quo ad ipsum sepulchrum intratur, altare
quidem parvum sed reverendum habetur, ubi corpus dominicum
antequam sepulture daretur positum fuisse a Ioseph et Nycho-
demo narratur. Denique super os ipsius spelunce, quod retro
155 ipsum altare situm est, ab eisdem per picturam musivi operis
corpus domini sepulture mandatur, astante domina nostra eius

125 in die sancto Palmarum] The next day Th was in Jericho (1012-1013).
127-128 Fr 61, 10-11. in libro Regum] 3 Reg. 1, 33-46. 131-135 Cf.
717-719. 132 ut Iosephus refert (= 670): (Latin version of) *Bellum Iud.* 1, 401ff.
(Loeb); Hegesippus 1, 35, 1, CSEL 66, p. 67, 20 - 68, 7. 133 restat = 136.
136 Restat = 133. 139 mirifico ... opere = 250. 140 circuli circumferentiam
= 144-145. 144-145 circuli ... circumferentiam = 140. 151-152 altare ... parvum
sed reverendum = 274-275. 152-154 (and 276-278) Fr 64, 1-4. 153 sepulture
daretur cf. 1388. 154 os ... spelunce = 169.

126 Adolfum M, Adolphi V 127 Gyon (cf. JW 1276) ut videtur V, Syon M
135 sita] a e correctura M 147 ostiola V, ostiata M septem V, et septem
M, cf. 16 149 tertium M, et tertium M, cf. 16 153 daretur, non <man>daretur
scribendum coll. 156: cf. 1388 155 musivi V, musici M, cf. 164

matre et tribus Mariis bene ex ewangelio notis cum aromatum
 vasculis, supersedente etiam angelo ipsi sepulchro et lapidem
 revolvente atque dicente: *ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum*. Inter
 160 ipsum quoque foramen et ipsum sepulchrum linea per emiciclum
 in longum porrigitur hos continens versus:

CHRISTO SURGENTI LOCUS ET CUSTOS MONUMENTI / AN-
 GELUS ET VESTIS FUIT ATQUE REDEMPTIO TESTIS

Hec omnia musivo opere preciosissimo sunt depicta, quo opere
 165 tota illa domuncula est decorata. Utreque vero ianue acerrimos
 habent custodes, qui non minus quam sex nec plus quam
 duodecim simul intromittentes – nec enim plures loci capit
 angustia – per aliam, postquam adoraverint, ianuam exire
 compellunt. Ipsum autem os spelunce non nisi rependo cruribus
 170 quislibet valet intrare, quod pertransiens optabilem thesaurum
 invenit, sepulchrum videlicet in quo benignissimus dominus
 noster Iesus Christus triduo requievit. Quod Pario marmore,
 auro et lapidibus preciosis mirifice decoratum tria in latere
 rotunda habet foramina, per que ipsi lapidi, in quo dominus
 175 iacuit, optata peregrini porrigunt oscula, duos et semis pedes in
 latitudine, cubitum virilem et pedem habens in longitudine.
 Planicies vero inter ipsum sepulchrum et murum posita tantum
 optinet spacii, ut quinque homines versis ad sepulchrum capi-
 tibus locum habeant geniculatim orandi. Extrinsecus igitur circa
 180 ipsum opus decem columpne sunt disposite, que sibi impositos
 gestantes arcus cancellatum efficiunt circulum, cui limbus su-
 perpositus est, hanc aureis litteris insculptam continens scrip-
 turam:

CHRISTUS RESURGENS EX MORTUIS IAM NON MORITUR, MORS
 185 ILLI ULTRA NON DOMINABITUR, QUOD ENIM VIVIT VIVIT
 DEO

Ceterum ad caput ipsius, quod ad occidentem versum fuit,

157-158 cum aromatum vasculis] Marc. 16, 1; Luc. 23, 56 and 24, 1. 159
 Marc. 16, 6. 160-161 linea per emiciclum ... porrigitur = 265-266. 162-163 =
 JW, Appendix inscriptionum (g): atque] estque JW. 164 musivo opere preciosissimo (= 834) ... depicta = 562. 165-169 Cf. 390-393. 169 Ipsum ... os spelunce = 154.
 rependo = 1030. 171-172 benignissimus dominus noster Iesus Christus = 2. 173
 mirifice decoratum = 240. 175 optata peregrini porrigunt oscula = 1145, cf. 988-989.
 180-181 impositos gestantes arcus = 193. 181-182 cui ... est cf. 211. 182
 aureis litteris] JW 1084: litteris in argento elevatis. See also 191. 184-186 (= JW
 1082-1084) Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 96, nr. 1796 (Dom. Paschae).

163 atque VM, estque JW, appendix inscriptionum (g), 2. 164 musivo V,
 musico M, cf. 155. 167 enim V, etiam M. 169 cruribus in margine M.

altare ferreis parietibus et ianuis atque seris circumseptum
 continetur, cancellis cipressinis varia pictura decoratis et tecto
 190 eiusdem generis similiter decorato ipsis parietibus incumbente.
 Tectum ipsius operis ex tabulis cupreis deauratis consistit, in
 medio foramine rotundo existente, circa quod columpnelle in
 circuitu constitute et arculos impositos gestantes superpositum
 tectum simile ciborio continent. Super tectum quoque ipsum
 195 crux deaurata et super crucem columba continetur similiter
 deaurata. Inter duas autem columpnellas superius ab arcubus,
 in singulis scilicet arcubus, singule lampades dependent in cir-
 cuitu, similiter quoque inter inferiores columpnas per circuitum
 bine lampades dependent. Circa ipsos vero arcus inferiores bini
 200 versus in unoquoque arcu descripti sunt, quos nequaquam
 propter colorum in quibusdam abolitionem legere potuimus,
 nos tamen sex in tribus arcubus tantum ad planum valuimus
 comprehendere:

205 VENIT IN HUNC LOCULUM QUI CONDIDIT ANTEA SECLUM.
 EIUS ADIS TUMULUM: CITO FAC UT SIS MICHl TEMPLUM

CERNERE GRATUM QUEM CUPIT AGNUM CONCIO PATRUM
 EFFRATA NATUM, GOLGATA PASSUM, PETRA SEPULTUM

HIC PROTHOPLASTUM VEXIT AD ASTRUM, DEMONIS ASTUM
 VICIT ET IPSUM SURGERE LAPSUM DANS AIT: ASSUM

210 Circa ferreum vero parietem, ad caput ut diximus constitutum,
 cui cancelli superpositi sunt, linea per circuitum porrigitur hos
 continens versus:

215 MORS HIC DELETUR ET NOBIS VITA MEDETUR / HOSTIA
 GRATA DATUR, CADIT HOSTIS, CULPA LAVATUR / CELUM
 LETATUR, FLENT TARTARA, LEX RENOVATUR / ISTA DOCENT,
 CHRISIE, QUAM SANCTUS SIT LOCUS ISTE

188 *ferreis parietibus et ianuis ... circumseptum* = 596-597, cf. 588 and 953. 189-
 190 *decoratis ... similiter decorato*] Cf. 195-196. 191 *deauratis*] JW 1058: *de*
argento coopertum. See also 182. 193 *arculos impositos gestantes* = 180-181. 195-
 196 *deaurata ... similiter deaurata* cf. 189-190. 205 2 Cor. 6, 16: *Vos enim estis*
templum dei vivi. 207 *Effrata natum*] Gen. 35, 19 and 48, 7 (Mich. 5, 2).
 210 *ut diximus*] 187-189. 211 *cui ... sunt* cf. 181-182. 216 *chrise*] Cf.
 Augustine, *De ciu dei* 17, 4, CC 48, p. 561, 269-270: *Omnes quippe unctos eius*
chrismate recte 'christos' possumus dicere.

190 *decorato*] *decolorato* VM 199 *bini* V, *om.* M 200 *descripti* (= 346.436-437, *et passim*) V, *inscripti* M 210 *vero* V, *enim* M 211 *cancelli*
superpositi V, *cancelle superpositae* M

[6] Ceterum pavimenta ipsius ecclesie Pario et vario marmore speciosissime sunt constrata. Ipsa vero ecclesia quadratis columpnis octo, que vocantur 'pilaria', et XVI rotundis columpnis de uno lapide existentibus inferius sustentatur, superius vero, quoniam inferius et superius sicut ecclesia Aquisgrani testudinata est, octo similiter pilariis et XVI columpnis fulcitur. Cimatum inferius, quod per totam ecclesiam circulariter traductum est, Grecis literis descriptum est per totum. Spatium vero muri quod medio atque superno cimatio interiacet, musivo opere incomparabili specie prefulget, ubi in fronte chori, id est supra arcum sanctuarii, eodem quidem opere sed antiquo, puerili et gratissimo vultu puer Iesus refulgens umbilicotenus cernitur esse depictus, ad sinistram vero ipsius mater, ad dextram autem Gabriel archangelus, illam notam depromens salutationem: *Ave Maria gratia plena, dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui*: hec salutatio tam latine quam grece circa ipsum dominum Christum descripta est. Uterius quoque ad dextram partem XII apostoli per ordinem eodem opere sunt depicti, habentes singuli eulogias Christi misteriis competentes in manibus suis. In medio autem eorum Constantinus imperator pro eo, quod una cum matre Helena ipsius ecclesie fundator exstitit, in fenestra muro non profunde imposita regali magnificentia trabeatus consistit. Post apostolos quoque sanctus Michael archangelus mirifice decoratus effulget. Sequitur ad sinistram ordo XII prophetarum, qui omnes ad ipsum speciosum puerum versas habentes facies et prophetias olim ab ipso eis inspiratas manibus preferentes venerabiliter locuti sunt. In quorum medio, e regione scilicet filii, sancta Helena regina magnifice decorata consistit. Ipsi deinde muro tectum plumbeum cipressinis laqueariis sustentatum incumbit, habens grande atque rotundum in supremo foramen, per quod immissum superne lumen totam ecclesiam perlustrat, nec aliam aliquam fenestram habet. [7] Preterea sanctuarium, vel sancta sanctorum, a Francis postea opere mirifico constructum, huius ecclesie corpori continuatum est, qui etiam divinas in ea laudes die ac nocte decentissime celebrant omnibus canonicis horis,

217-218 vario marmore ... constrata = 397-398. 218-219 quadratis columpnis ... que vocantur 'pilaria' (222) cf. 572. 224 Grecis literis descriptum ... per totum = 425. 228 puer Iesus = 1522 (1155). 230-232 Luc. 1, 28 and 42 (25 March: Alleluia). 235-236 Cf. 399-400. 240 mirifice decoratus (cf. 245) = 173. 245 magnifice decorata (cf. 240) = 973-974. 246 tectum plumbeum = 566. laqueariis] See the note on JW 374. 250 opere mirifico = 139.

218 speciosissime V, spaciosissimis M 227 puerili correxi, pueruli VM 248 superne V, supernum M 251 continuatum M, coniunctum V 252 omnibus V, atque M

semper cursum beate Marie premittentes. Quorum stipendiis media pars oblationum Dominici Sepulchri deputata est, altera
 255 medietas patriarche usibus attributa est. Principale altare nomini et honori domini Salvatoris attitulatum est, retro quod patriarchalis sedes sita est, supra quam ycona domine nostre permaxima et reverentissima, simul et ycona beati Iohannis Baptiste necnon et tertia ycona paranimphi sui sancti Gabrielis
 260 ab arcubus sanctuarii dependent. In ipsa autem sanctuarii celatura ipse dominus noster Iesus Christus, in sinistra crucem ferens, dextra Adam tenens, celum imperialiter intuens, giganteo passu, sinistro pede levato, dextro adhuc in terra posito, celos penetrat circumstantibus hiis, sua scilicet matre et beato Baptista Iohanne et omnibus apostolis. Sub cuius pedibus linea de
 265 muro ad murum per ipsum emiciclum porrecta hanc continet scripturam:

CRUCIFIXUM IN CARNE LAUDATE ET SEPULTUM PROPTER
 VOS GLORIFICATE RESURGENTEMQUE A MORTE ADORATE

270 Dehinc in linea superiori per idem emiciclum ducta hec continetur scriptura:

ASCENDENS CHRISTUS IN ALTUM CAPTIVAM DUXIT CAPTIVITATEM, DEDIT DONA HOMINIBUS

Circa medium vero ipsius chori altare cavum et parvum sed
 275 reverendum habetur, in cuius pavimento cruciola in rotundo circulo est impressa, hoc significans, quod Ioseph et Nychodemus corpus dominicum de cruce depositum ibi deposuerunt ad lavandum. Ante ostium vero ipsius chori altare non mediocre habetur, quod ad Surianorum tantummodo spectat officium.
 280 Denique peractis a Latinis cotidie divinis officiis, Suriani vel ibidem ante chorum sive in aliqua ecclesie abside divinos decantare solent ymnos, qui etiam plura in ipsa ecclesia habent

253 cursum b. Marie] Those parts of the Officium B.M.V. which correspond to the various *canonicae horae*. 259 Venantius Fortunatus, MGH, AA 4, *spuria* 1 (*In laudem s. Mariae*), 325: *angelus* (= Gabriel) *inde tuos repetit paranympus honores*.

265-266 *linea ... per ... emiciclum porrecta* = 160-161. 268-269 Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 115, nr. 1955 (Dom. Paschae) combined with nr. 2717 (p. 209). 272-273 Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 58, nr. 1487 (Ascensio domini). 274-275 *altare cavum* (*et parvum* = 151-152) = 354.954.1134.1246.1508. - *reverendum* = 151-152.325.974-975.(1134, critical apparatus) (*venerandum*: 335.351.418.820.889-890.954.1041.1134.1148). 275-276 *in cuius pavimento cruciola ... est impressa* = 335-336.354.1134-1135.1507-1508.1513-1514. in rotundo circulo *sic*, cf. 574. 276-278 (= 152-154) Fr 64, 1-4. 278 *non mediocre* = 1307.1417.

256 domini (= 728) V, nostri *add.* M 272-273 *captivitatem* M, *tatem tantum* V

altariola, nullorum nisi suis usibus apta vel concessa. Hee sunt
 285 professiones sive secte que in ecclesia Iherosolimitana divina
 peragunt officia, scilicet Latini, Suriani, Armenii, Greci, Iacobini,
 Nubiani. Hii omnes tam in conversatione quam in divinis officiis
 suas quisque habet differentias, Iacobini in suis festis Hebreo-
 rum more tubis utuntur.

[8] Moris est in ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri in sabbato sancto
 290 Pasche exorto sole tam in ipsa ecclesia quam in cunctis aliis
 per civitatem constitutis ecclesiis materiale lumen extinguere
 et lumen celitus venturum expectare. Ad quod lumen recipien-
 dum una ex lampadibus argenteis, quarum ibi septem depen-
 dent, ante ipsum sepulchrum preparatur. Tunc deinde clerus et
 295 populus, in magna et anxia expectatione constituti, donec deus
 manum suam de alto emittat prestolantur, sepius aliis adiunctis
 precibus *Deus adiuvet* et *Sanctum Sepulchrum* alta vociferatione
 non sine lacrimis intonantes. Interim tam patriarcha sive alii
 episcopi, qui ad susceptionem sacri ignis conveniunt, quam et
 300 alius clerus, cum cruce, in qua maxima portio ligni dominici
 continetur, necnon et aliis sanctorum reliquiis sepius orandi
 causa visitare ipsum sepulchrum solent, lustrantes etiam si deus
 adhuc luminis sui gratiam vasi ad hoc constituto immiserit.
 Solet quippe ipse ignis in certis horis et locis sese exhibere, nam
 305 aliquando circa horam primam, aliquando circa terciam vel
 sextam sive nonam horam vel etiam completorii tempore solet
 advenire, aliquando quoque ad ipsum sepulchrum, aliquando
 ad Templum Domini, nonnunquam ad Sanctum Iohannem solet
 venire. Ipsa vero die, qua nos pauperes cum aliis peregrinis
 310 ipsius sancti ignis eramus expectatione, statim post hore none
 tempus sacer ille ignis advenit, cum ecce concrepantibus eccle-
 siasticis signis munia missalis officii per totam civitatem per-
 solvebantur, baptisteriis et ceteris officiis antea peractis. Mox
 vero ut sacer ille ignis advenerit, antequam aliquis suam can-
 315 delam preter patriarcham accendat, ad Templum Domini solet
 representari.

285-286 Cf. JW 1447-1453. Nubiani] The Copts. 295-296 Ps. 143,
 7: *emitte manum tuam de alto*. 297 *deus adiuvet*] See H. Hagenmeyer, note 33
 on Fulcher of Chartres 1, 27, 10, p. 299 of his edition (1913). 300-301 Cf.
 321-322 and 326-327. 301-302 *orandi causa* = 1061.1231. 307-308 aliquando
 ad Templum Domini] Cf. 505-508. 309 *nos pauperes* (= 1061) cf. 1332-1333:
qui (= Christus) pro ipsis pauper et humilis illuc dignatus est venire.

285 Iacobini V, et *add.* M, cf. 16 287 habet VM, habent *edd.* 292
 venturum V, ventorum M 295 constituti M, constitutus V 305 primam
 V, et *add.* M, cf. 16 312-313 *ante persolvebantur deletum est solvebantur* V

[9] Ab occidentali fere parte, in exitu ecclesie ipsius, quo per gradus amplius quam triginta ad plateam ab ecclesia ascenditur, ante ipsum exitum capella in honore beate Marie habetur, cui
 320 presunt Armenii. Item ad sinistram ecclesie a septentrionali parte capella in honore sancte crucis existit, ubi etiam ipsius venerabilis ligni magna portio auro et argento inclusa tenetur, que sub Surianorum custodia consistit. Rursus ab eadem parte iuxta ipsam capellam versus orientem summe venerationis ha-
 325 betur capella, in qua altare reverendum honori sancte crucis attitulatum et eiusdem beati ligni maxima pars auro, argento et lapidibus preciosis, ita ut videri aperte queat, inclusa summa cum reverentia in locello speciosissimo observatur, quod etiam salutare lignum adversus paganos in bello, cum necessitas exigit,
 330 gestare solent Christiani. Hec etiam capella musivo opere mirabiliter est decorata. Hanc autem crucem Eraclius Romanorum imperator Cosdroe regi Persarum, bello cum eo gesto, ereptam Christianis restituit. Iuxta ipsam quoque capellam versus orientem ad obscuram quandam capellam per XX fere gradus in-
 335 tratur, ubi altare itidem venerandum existit, sub cuius pavimento cruciola cernitur impressa. In quo loco dominus noster Iesus Christus reclusus fuisse perhibetur, quando, de iudicio Pilati ad locum passionis ductus, expectavit donec ei et facies velaretur et in Calvaria crux constitueretur, ut in ea posset appendi. Item
 340 post ipsam capellam altare in honore sancti Nicolai existit, dehinc porta claustralis, qua in claustrum intratur canonicorum, quod circa sanctuarium est constitutum. Post claustralis autem ambitus circuicionem ex alia parte ecclesiam intrantibus occurrit ymago crucifixi, supra ipsam claustralem portam ita
 345 depicta, ut cunctis intuentibus magnam inferat compunctionem, circa quam isti versus descripti sunt:

ASPICE QUI TRANSIS, QUIA TU MICH CAUSA DOLORIS:
 PRO TE PASSUS ITA, PRO ME TU NOXIA VITA

[10] Dehinc versus orientem <per> triginta et amplius gradus
 350 ad venerabilem beate Helene regine capellam extra ipsam sitam descenditur, ubi in eius honore altare venerandum habetur. Hinc

319-320 *cui presunt Armenii* = 460-461.928, cf. 959-960.1248. 321 etiam] Cf. 300-301 (and 326-327). 324-325 *summe venerationis (... capella)* = 968, cf. 1116-1117. 325 *altare reverendum* = 274-275. 326-327 Cf. 300-301 and 321-322. 329 *adversus paganos* = 482. 331-333 Cf. 781-782. 333 *Christianis restituit* = 373. 335 *altare venerandum* = 274-275 (*itidem*: 325). 335-336 *sub ... impressa* = 275-276. 345 *intuentibus* = 70. 351 *altare venerandum* = 274-275.

317 parte M, ecclesie parte (*sed et in exitu ecclesie*) V 329 signum VM, corr. M 331 autem crucem V, etiam capellam M 332 Cosdroe] Cosdre VM 349 per *correx*i, cf. 317-318, et *passim*

iterum ad dexteram partem per XV vel paulo plus gradus in
subterraneum specum descenditur, ubi in dextro specus ipsius
angulo cavum altare et sub eo crux pavimento impressa cernitur,
355 in quo loco ipsa regina crucem dominicam reperisse narratur;
ubi altare in honore sancti Iacobi habetur. Ipsa quoque capella
nullam habet aliam fenestram nisi magnum superne foramen.
[II] Ex alia nichilominus parte ecclesie, id est in dextro, retro
chorum altare decorum existit, in quo pars magna columpne,
360 circa quam dominus ligatus et flagellatus est, consistit. Exinde
ad meridiem ante ipsius ecclesie ianuam quinque sepulchra
videntur, quorum unum precioso opere factum de Pario mar-
more et choro contiguum fratris est regis Ierosolimorum, nomine
Balduwini, secundum regis Balduwini, fratris ducis Godefridi,
365 super quod tale scriptum est epitaphium:

HIC EST BALDUWINUS, ALTER IUDAS MACHABEUS,
SPES PATRIE, DECUS ECCLESIE, VIRTUS UTRIUSQUE,
QUEM FORMIDABANT, CUI DONA TRIBUTA FEREBANT
CEDAR ET EGYPTUS, DAN AC HOMICIDA DAMASCUS.
370 PROCHDOLOR, IN MODICO CLAUDITUR HOC TUMULO

Deinde tercium sepulchrum fratris est ipsius, ducis Godefridi,
qui ipsam civitatem Ierosolimam, a Sarracenis invasam ac
Turcis, gladio et sapientia recuperavit et Christianis restituit,
patriarcham a paganis eiectionem in sede sua relocavit, clerum in
375 ipsa ecclesia instituit, stipendia eis ut deo militare valerent
ordinavit. Quartum sepulchrum patris est istius regis, scilicet
Emelrici, quintum patris abbatis Sancti Lazari. Item fere ad
meridiem ianua patet, per quam in capellam intratur sub turri
campanaria constitutam et ex illa in aliam capellam reverentia
380 plenam, honori beati Iohannis Baptiste ascriptam transitur, in
qua etiam baptisterium exstat, et ex ipsa rursus in terciam
capellam pervenitur. De prima autem gradibus XL vel plus
ascenditur ad plateam.

354 *cavum altare* = 274-275. *crux ... cernitur* = 275-276. 355 Fr 64, 9-10. 359-360 = 912-914. 363-364 Baldwin III (brother and predecessor of King Amalric, see lines 376-377) (1152-1163). 364 Baldwin I (1100-1118). 365 *tale scriptum est epitaphium* = 618-619. 369 Cedar] Cf. 1467-1468, and Ier. 49, 27-28. 371 *ipsius*] Baldwin I (see line 364). 373 *Christianis restituit* = 333. 376-377 Fulk (1131-1143), father of Baldwin III (lines 363-364) and of Amalric (Emelrici). 377 Baldwin II (1118-1131), father of Ivette, abbess of St Lazarus in Bethany. See lines 999-1000.

358 in dextra *corr. Bulst* 364 et 366 Balduwini, Balduwinus V, Baldewini (-nus) M (*cf. adn. cr. ad 1102*) 364 et 371 Godefridi V, Gotfridi M 366 n ad 364 371 n ad 364 374 patriarcham M, patriarcha V sua M, suo V 381 exstat V, existit M. *Cf. 1180-1181: exstans ... existit*

[12] Restat nunc de monte Calvaria dicere, qui sicut oculus
 385 in capite, ita ipse in illa resplendet ecclesia, unde per filii dei
 mortem et sanguinis effusionem lux et vita nobis proveniet
 eterna. Ante ipsius ecclesie introitum sive ianuam solido ere
 indutam, que etiam duplex esse dinoscitur, gradibus fere XV
 ad quoddam parvum sed cancellatum et picturis decoratum
 390 ascenditur consistorium, cuius desuper astantes custodes et
 ianuas observantes quantos volunt peregrinos intrare permit-
 tunt, ne forte ex magna compressione, que sepius ibi solet
 accidere, oppressio aliqua sive periculum mortis eveniat. De illo
 quoque vestibulo per aliud ostium tribus ascenditur gradibus
 395 in capellam veneratione et reverentia cunctis sub sole locis
 supereminentem, que quatuor fornicibus grandi robore peditis
 erecta subsistit. Cuius pavimenta omnigeno marmore egregie
 constrata, testudo vero sive celatura ipsius prophetis, David
 scilicet, Salomone, Ysaya et quibusdam aliis, scripta passioni
 400 Christi consonantia manu gestantibus, musivo opere in ea de-
 pictis nobilissime est adornata, ita ut illi operi nullum sub celo
 posset equari si tantum clare posset videri, nam propter cir-
 cumstantes fabricas locus idem aliquantulum obscuratur. Locus
 autem, ubi crux ipsa stetit, in qua Salvator mortem pertulit,
 405 versus orientem alto gradu elatus, Pario et nobilissimo marmore
 ex sinistra parte constratus, foramen profundum et adeo latum,
 quo caput fere posset intrudi, ostenditur, in quo crux ipsa defixa
 fuisse dinoscitur, in quod peregrini caput et faciem ob ipsius
 crucifixi amorem et reverentiam solent imprimere. Ad dexteram
 410 vero ipse mons Calvaria, altius verticem attollens, in pavimento
 longam, latam et valde profundam rimam ex scissura, quam in
 morte Christi sustinuit, demonstrat, insuper antierius horribili
 foramine hiscens sanguinem, qui de latere pendentis in cruce
 Christi cucurrit, usque ad terram se emisisse testatur. In cuius
 415 summitate peregrini cruces, quas de terris suis secum illo ad-
 duxerint, solent deponere, quarum magnam ibi copiam vidimus,

384-385 *sicut oculus in capite* = 43. 390-393 Cf. 165-169. 395 *cunctis sub*
sole cf. 401. 396-397 *fornicibus ... erecta* = 690. 397-398 *omnigeno marmore ...*
constrata = 217-218. 399-400 Cf. 235-236. 401 *nullum sub celo* cf. 395.
 402 *clare ... videri* = 1087. 404 *ubi ... stetit* = 407-408 *in quo ... dinoscitur.*
 405 *alto gradu elatus* cf. 703-704. *nobilissimo marmore* = 538-539. 407-408
 = 404. 410 *altius verticem attollens* = 72. 411-412 (cf. 431) *Matth. 27, 51:*
et terra mota est et petrae scissae sunt. 413-414 *sanguinem ... cucurrit* (= 1584-1585)
Ioh. 19, 34. 414-415 *In cuius summitate* = 1046-1047.

384 (et 410) Calvaria V, Calvarie M. Cf. 71: *collem Moriam*, 118: *mons*
Moria et 1285: in monte Moria; 103: *mons Libanus* 395 *veneratione V,*
venerandam M 410 *u. ad 384* in *correxci, et ex abbreviatura male lecta VM*
(Bulst), delevit Tobler 415 *illo (cf. 432.1155) V, illic M*

quas omnes custodes Calvarie in sabbato <sancto> ignibus solent
exurere. Altare venerandum in ea habetur et in Parasceve omne
diei illius officium a patriarcha et clero ibidem percelebratur.
420 In sinistra altaris parte in muro ipsius crucifixi ymago mire
pulchritudinis est depicta, astante ad dextram Longino et lancea
latus pungente, a sinistra Stephaton cum spongia et acetum
offerente, astante etiam ad sinistram matre, ad dextram Io-
hanne. Per circuitum vero ipsius due grandes porriguntur linee
425 literis Grecis per totum descripte, ad dexteram quoque ipsius
altaris iam mortuum Christum Nychodemus et Ioseph de cruce
deponunt, ubi etiam hoc est descriptum:

DESCENSIO DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI DE CRUCE

Hinc per XV gradus in ecclesiam descenditur et ad capellam
430 que Golgata vocatur, reverendam quidem sed obscuram, per-
venitur, retro quam fenestra profunda extat, que finem scissure,
que Calvaria illo descenderat, intuentibus demonstrat, in quo
loco sanguis Christi, qui per scissuram illuc cucurrerat, restitisse
perhibetur. Preterea super arcum ipsam Golgatham concluden-
435 tem, id est in latere Calvarie versus occidentem constituto,
tabula quedam in pariete depicta perspicitur, in qua hii versus
aureis literis descripti esse videntur:

EST LOCUS ISTE SACER SACRATUS SANGUINE CHRISTI:
PER NOSTRUM SACRARE SACRO NICHIL ADDIMUS ISTI.
440 SED DOMUS HUIC SACRO CIRCUM SUPEREDIFICATA
EST QUINTADECIMA QUINTILIS LUCE SACRATA
CUM RELIQUIS PATRIBUS A FULCHERIO PATRIARCHA

XI^o Kal. Decembris dicitur beata virgo Maria trium annorum

417-418 *ignibus ... exurere* = 1239. 418 *Altare venerandum* = 274-275. 421-
422 *lancea latus pungente* cf. 1583-1584. 422 *Stephaton*] Cf. A.N. Didron, *Le*
crucifiement du Christ, in *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine*, Paris 1845,
pp. 195-196 (note 1); C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Stephaton, l'homme à l'éponge de la*
crucifixion et les deux larrons Gestas et Dysmas, in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*
16, 1883, pp. 145-147 (I owe these references to P. Paul Devos, Bollandiste).
425 *literis Grecis per totum descripte* = 224. 431 *scissure*] Cf. 411-412. 432
intuentibus = 70. 434 *Golgatham*] See the note on 458 *Golgotha*. 436-437
hii versus ... descripti esse videntur = 444-445. 438-441 = JW 1104-1107. In line
439, JW (1105) reads *additur*, and line 442 is omitted there. 443(-448) (= JW 276-282) 21 November. These lines belong to the description of the *Templum*
Domini (537ff.). They have been misplaced, though probably not by Th himself.

417 *sancto* (cf. 289) *coniecit* Tobler 424 *due correxi*, duo VM 431 *quam*]
quod VM 432 *illo V et ex illa ut videtur corr. M* quo V, hoc M 439
additur JW 1105 442 (*om. JW*) Fulcherio V, Fulgerio M

in templo domini oblata fuisse; ubi etiam isti versus videntur
445 esse descripti:

VIRGINIBUS SEPTEM VIRGO COMITATA PUELLIS
SERVITURA DEO FUIT HIC OBLATA TRIENNIS.
PASCITUR ANGELICO VIRGO MINISTERIO

Ante fores ecclesie inter duas ianuas dominus Christus reve-
450 rendo habitu quasi iam a morte resurgens consistit, ad cuius
pedes Maria Magdalena prostrata, non tamen ipsos pedes tan-
gens iacet. Cui dominus cirographum porrigit hos versus conti-
nens:

QUID, MULIER, FLORAS? IAMIAM QUEM QUERIS ADORAS.
455 ME DIGNUM RECOLI IAM VIVUM TANGERE NOLI

[13] Exeuntibus ecclesiam versus meridiem occurrit quasi
quoddam pretorium quadrangulum quadratis lapidibus con-
structum, ad cuius sinistram partem iuxta Golgatha exterius
capella in honore trium Mariarum habetur, quam Latini tenent.
460 Ulterius quoque ad meridiem alia capella extat, cui presunt
Armenii. Item ulterius parvula quedam existit capella. In exitu
vero eiusdem planitie ad sinistram platea testudinata occurrit
rebus referta venalibus, a fronte autem ipsum forum venalium
rerum se representat. In qua fronte sex columpne superius
465 arcuate consistunt, ubi extemplo versus meridiem ecclesia et
hospitale Beati Iohannis Baptiste offertur. Que quantis edificiis
decorata, quantis domiciliis et lectulis atque aliis utensiliis in
usus pauperum et infirmorum atque debilium exhibendis ha-
bundans, quam in substantia pauperum recreationibus impen-
470 denda locuples, quam in ipsa egenorum sit sustentatione sollicita,
nullus alteri verbis fidem posset facere nisi ipse propriis hoc
oculis valeret deprehendere. Siquidem transeuntes per palatium
numerus simul accumbentium nullo modo quivimus discernere,

444-445 *isti versus videntur esse descripti* = 436-437. 446-448 = JW 279-280
and 282. 451-452 Cf. 455. 454-455 = JW, *Appendix inscriptionum* (a).

455 (cf. 451-452) Ioh. 20, 17. 458 *Golgatha* cf. 434: *Golgatham*. Both
accusatives are used - though whether by one and the same author remains
questionable. 460-461 *cui presunt Armenii* = 319-320. 465ff. See also the
colourful description by JW 1281ff. 472 *palatium sic* (cf. 466-472)!

449 dominus Christus (= 233.729.1150) V, dominus noster Iesus Christus *uti*
passim M, cf. 1021, *app. cr.* 455 iam vivum JW, *appendix inscriptionum* (a), *et ex*
superscriptione V, quem tu modo *pr.* V, quem iam tu M 459 in ... Mariarum
M, trium Mariarum in honore *trp.* V 465 extemplo *correx*i, ex templo VM,
ex Templo *edd.* Cf. 482-483: statim sequitur 468 et infirmorum atque (cf. 26,
app. cr.) V, et *om.* M 469 quam V, tam M

lectorum vero numerum millenarium vidimus excedere, nec
 475 enim quisquam regum vel tyrannorum prepotens tantos, quan-
 tos illa domus cotidie posset sustentare. Nec mirum; nam preter
 ea que in exteris possident terris, quorum non potest facile
 numerus comprehendere, omnes fere civitates et villas ad Iudeam
 quondam pertinentes, a Vespasiano et Tyto destructas, cum
 480 universis agris et vinetis tam ipsi quam Templarii sibi subiugaverunt,
 disposita per universam regionem militia et castris
 adversus paganos valde munitis. Post hec ad orientem statim
 sequitur ecclesia Beate Marie, in qua sanctimoniales sub abbatissa
 constitute divinas cotidie celebrant laudes. Qui locus id-
 485 circo beate Marie dicatus esse dicitur, quia, dum Salvator noster
 ad passionem ductus male tractaretur, ipsius iussu in eodem
 loco cenaculo quodam, quod tunc ibidem erat, inclusa fuisse
 perhibetur. Item sequitur confestim alia ecclesia ad orientem
 posita, que similiter domine nostre extat attitulata eo, quod
 490 cum dominus noster crucis supplicium pro nostra salute pateretur,
 ipsa impos sui effecta pre doloris magnitudine manibus
 ferentium eam illuc in subterraneum specum perlata est, ubi
 dolori suo satisfaciens capillos capitis sui evellebat, qui adhuc
 in ipsa ecclesia in ampulla vitrea conservantur. Est etiam in
 495 ipsa ecclesia caput beati Philippi apostoli auro valde decoratum
 et brachium sancti Symonis apostoli brachiumque sancti Cypriani
 episcopi. Monachi in eadem ecclesia sub Regula et abbatis
 imperio ibidem deo deserviunt.

[14] Hinc ad meridiem reflexo aliquantulum calle per Speciosam
 500 Portam templi ad ipsum Templum Domini pervenitur, per
 mediam fere civitatem transeundo, ubi de inferiori atrio ad
 superius ascenditur gradibus viginti duobus et de superiori atrio
 intratur in Templum. Ante ipsos vero gradus in atrio inferiori
 gradibus XXV vel amplius in piscinam grandem descenditur,
 505 ex qua ut fertur per subterraneos specus usque ad ecclesiam
 Sancti Sepulchri transitur, in tantum, quod etiam in sabbato
 sancto ignem celitus accensum per ipsum specum ad Templum
 Domini deferri referatur. In ipsa autem piscina hostie, que in

474 Cf. JW 1286, note. 476-482 Cf. 709-713. 477 in exteris ... terris = 713. 478 civitates et villas = 26. 480 agris et vinetis = 1385. 480-481 sibi subiugaverunt = 712. 482 adversus paganos = 329. 490 pro nostra salute = 1248. 497-498 sub ... abbatis imperio = 1487-1488. deo deserviunt = 801.941.999-1000.1361.1488. 499-500 ad ... calle = 1114, cf. 1036. Cf. already Act. 3, 2 (10): ad portam templi quae dicitur 'Speciosa'. 507-508 ad Templum Domini] Cf. 307-308. 508-510 = 536.

476 nam V, om. M 484 divinas M, divina V 500 templi ... templum domini V, templi domini ... templum M

- templo domini debebant offerri, secundum legis mandatum
 510 lavabantur. Atrium autem exterius duplum vel paulo plus maius
 est atrio interiori, cuius, sicut interioris, pavimenta latis et
 magnis lapidibus constrata sunt. Permanent autem adhuc duo
 latera atrii exterioris, alia duo in usus cesserunt canonicorum
 et Templariorum, in ipsis enim domos et ortos constituerunt.
 515 Ab occidentali latere duobus ordinibus graduum in atrium
 superius ascenditur, et meridiano similiter. Super gradus autem,
 ante quos piscinam diximus esse sitam, quatuor columpne ar-
 cuate consistunt, ubi etiam sepulchrum divitis cuiusdam viri,
 ferreis cratibus circumseptum, ex alabastro decenter incisum
 520 consistit. Ad dextram quoque super meridianos gradus similiter
 quatuor columpne existunt arcuate, ad sinistram vero tres. Ad
 orientem nichilominus XV duplices gradus existunt, per quos
 de Aurea Porta ascenditur in Templum, secundum quos psal-
 mista XV composuit psalmos, super quos quinque consistunt
 525 columpne. Ad meridianam preterea plagam super duos angulos
 atrii interioris due consistunt domuncule, quarum una, versus
 occidentem posita, scola dicitur fuisse beate Marie. Inter Tem-
 plum quoque et duo latera atrii exterioris, orientalis scilicet et
 meridiani, lapis magnus situs est in modum altaris, qui secun-
 530 dum quorundam traditionem os est piscinarum ibidem consis-
 tentium, secundum aliorum vero opinionem Zachariam Barachie
 filium ibidem peremptum fuisse designat. Ab aquilonali autem
 parte claustrum et officine existunt clericorum. Circa ipsum
 vero Templum grandes piscine sub pavimento existunt. Inter
 535 Auream quoque Portam et XV gradus grandis piscina vetus et
 collapsa existit, in qua antiquitus hostie diluebantur offerende.
 [15] Ipsum denique Templum inferius octogonum esse mani-
 festum est, inferius usque ad medium spatium nobilissimo mar-
 more ornatum et a medio usque ad superiorem, cui tectum
 540 incumbit, limbum musivo opere decentissime decoratum. Ipse
 vero limbus, circulariter per totum Templi ambitum circum-

512 *magnis lapidibus constrata* = 95-96. 517 *diximus*] 503-504. 523-524
 Psalms 119-133. 529 *lapis magnus situs est* = 1071, cf. 605-606. 531-532
 Matth. 23, 35: *veniat super vos omnis sanguis iustus qui effusus est super terram a sanguine*
Abel iusti usque ad sanguinem Zachariae filii Barachiae, quem occidistis inter templum et
altare: two Zacharies are confused with each other (Zach. 1, 1 and 2 Par. 24,
 20-22), also in JW 316-317 = Fr 56, 3-4. 536 = 508-510. 537ff. See the
 note on lines 443-444ff. 538-540 See the note on JW 325-327. 538
medium spatium = 899. 538-539 *nobilissimo marmore* = 405.

519 *incisum* (= *incisum*) = 1336 529 *meridiani* (cf. 714, et *passim*) V,
 meridionalis M 540 *musivo opere* (... *decoratum* = 835) *uti passim* V, in
 musivo opere M 541 *circulariter* (= 223.574-575.682-683) V, mirabiliter M
 templi *bis* V

ductus, hanc continet scripturam, que a fronte, id est ab occidentali introitu, inchoans secundum solis circuitum sic est legenda, in fronte:

545 PAX ETERNA AB ETERNO PATRE SIT HUIC DOMUI

in secundo latere:

TEMPLUM DOMINI SANCTUM EST, DEI CULTURA EST, DEI
SANCTIFICATIO EST

in tertio latere:

550 HEC EST DOMUS DOMINI FIRMITER EDIFICATA

in quarto latere:

IN DOMO DOMINI OMNES DICENT GLORIAM

in quinto:

BENEDICTA GLORIA DOMINI DE LOCO SANCTO SUO

555 in sexto:

BEATI QUI HABITANT IN DOMO TUA, DOMINE

in septimo:

VERE DOMINUS EST IN LOCO ISTO ET EGO NESCIEBAM

in octavo:

560 BENE FUNDATA EST DOMUS DOMINI SUPRA FIRMAM PETRAM

Preterea versus orientem iuxta Beati Iacobi ecclesiam columpna quedam musivo opere in muro depicta est, supra quam talis est descriptio facta:

COLUMNPA ROMANA

565 Superior autem murus angustiori circulo, fornicibus interius sustentatus, circumducitur, qui plumbeum gestans tectum in summo grandem pilam et super eam crucem deauratam habet stantem. Per quatuor ianuas intratur et exitur, unaquaque ianua

545 (and 554) = JW 388-389. 547-548 See the note on JW 398-399.

550 Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 244, nr. 2998 (Dedicatio ecclesiae). 552 See the note on JW 395-396. 554 See the note on 545. 556 See the note on JW 391-393. 558 (= 608-609) See the note on JW 395-396. 560 See the note on JW 391-393. 562 *musivo opere ... depicta* = 164. 566 *plumbeum ... tectum* = 246. 567 *pilam et super eam crucem deauratam* = 847. 568 *intratur et exitur* cf. 1610.

suam de quatuor mundi plagis respiciente. Subsistit autem ipsa
 570 ecclesia quadratis fornicibus octo, columnis XVI, cuius muri
 et celatura musivo opere nobiliter sunt decorata. Ambitus vero
 chori quatuor habet fornices sive pilaria et octo columnas, que
 interiorem murum cum ipsius testudine in altum porrecta ges-
 tant; super ipsos autem chori arcus linea in circuitu circulariter
 575 porrigitur, hanc ex ordine continens scripturam:

DOMUS MEA DOMUS ORATIONIS VOCABITUR, DICIT DOMINUS.
 IN EA OMNIS QUI PETIT ACCIPIT ET QUI QUERIT INVENIT
 ET PULSANTI APERIETUR: PETITE ET ACCIPIETIS, QUERITE
 ET INVENIETIS

580 In superiori vero circulo similiter circumducto hec continetur
 scriptura:

AUDI, DOMINE, YMNUM ET ORATIONEM, QUAM SERVUS TUUS
 ORAT CORAM TE, DOMINE, UT SINT OCULI TUI APERTI ET
 AURES TUE INTENTE SUPER DOMUM ISTAM DIE AC NOCTE.
 585 RESPICE, DOMINE, DE SANCTUARIO TUO ET DE EXCELSO
 CELORUM HABITACULO

In introitu proinde chori altare in honore beati Nycolai habetur
 ferreo pariete inclusum, superius limbum habente et hanc scrip-
 turam continente, in fronte:

590 ANNO MILLESIMO CENTESIMO PRIMO, INDICTIONE VIII^a,
 EPACTA XVIII^a

in sinistro latere:

AB ANTIOCHIA CAPTA ANNI LXIII, IHERUSALEM LXIII

in dextro latere:

595 TRIPOLIS LXII, BERITUS LXI, ASCALONIA XVIII ANNI

572 (*fornices sive*) *pilaria* cf. 218-219 and 222. 573 *in altum porrecta* = 97-98. 574 *in circuitu circulariter sic*, cf. 275-276. 576-579 *domus ... dominus*] Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 174, nr. 2428 (*Dedicatio ecclesiae*): JW 350. *in ea ... aperietur*] *Ibidem*, p. 385, nr. 4151 (*Dom. 5 et 6 post Pascha*). *petite ... invenietis*] *Ibidem*, p. 401, nrs. 4279 and 4280 (*Dom. 5 post Pascha*). 582-586 (= JW 402-405) *audi ... nocte*] 3 Reg. 8, 28-29, cf. Hesbert, CAO 2, p. 459, nr. 97 (2), p. 586, nr. 114 (5), p. 649, p. 120 (4), p. 728, nr. 129. *respice ... habitaculo*] Deut. 26, 15 (cf. Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 442, nr. 4621: *Dedicatio ecclesiae*). 588 *ferreo pariete inclusum* = 596-597, cf. 188. 590-595 On the text of these inscriptions see the introduction, pp. 26-27.

573 *cum ipsius*] *cuius ipsius* VM 590-591 VIII^a ... XVIII^a *correx* (cf. *adn.*), III^a ... XI^a VM 595 XVIII *correx* (cf. *adn.*), XI VM

Verum versus orientem ad latus chori locus ferreo pariete ianuas habente circumseptus omni veneratione dignus habetur, in quo dominus noster Iesus Christus ad templum cum oblatione sua XL^o nativitatis sue die delatus a parentibus oblatum est, quem
 600 ad templi ipsius introitum senex Symeon in ulnas suscepit et ad locum oblationis detulit. In cuius loci fronte hii versus sunt descripti:

HIC FUIT OBLATUS REX REGUM VIRGINE NATUS
 QUO LOCUS ORNATUR, QUO SANCTUS IURE VOCATUR

605 Iuxta eundem locum, vix uno remotus cubito, lapis ille situs est, quem Iacob patriarcha supposuerat olim capiti suo, super quem dormiens scalam ad celos vidit erectam, in qua descendentes et ascendentes angelos vidit et dixit: *vere dominus est in loco isto et ego nesciebam*. In cuius loci fronte isti continentur
 610 versus:

CORPORE SOPITUS SED MENTE IACOB VIGIL INTUS
 HIC VIDIT SCALAM, TITULUM DIREXIT AD ARAM

[16] Hinc per orientalem portam ad capellam Beati Iacobi apostoli fratris domini intratur, ubi idem de templi pinna
 615 precipitatus et fullonis fuste cerebro confracto ab impiis Iudeis peremptus primo in Valle Iosaphat templo contigua sepultus et postea a fidelibus in eundem locum relatus honorifice, ut eum decuit, sepulture traditus est. Super cuius sepulchrum hoc scriptum est epitaphium:

620 DIC, LAPIS ET FOSSA: CUIUS SUNT QUE TEGIS OSSA?
 SUNT IACOBI IUSTI, IACET HIC SUB TEGMINE BUSTI

Est autem ipsa ecclesiola rotunda, inferius latior, superius angustior, columnis octo sustentata et picturis optime decorata. Redeuntibus ab ipsa ecclesia per eandem portam retro ostium
 625 ipsius porte ad sinistram quadrangulus quidam occurrit locus,

596-597 *ferreo pariete* (= 588) *ianuas habente circumseptus* = 188. 597-601 cf. Fr 55, 1-2. 598-599 *cum oblatione ... oblatum*. 600-601 Luc. 2, 25-32. 601 *In cuius loci fronte* = 609. 603-604 = JW 291 and 293. 605-609 = 1375-1378. 605-606 *lapis ... situs est* cf. 529. 608-609 = 558. 609 *In cuius loci fronte* = 601. 612 See the note on JW 291-294 (*direxit metri causa for erexit*). 614-615 Fr 56, 1-2. 615 *impiis Iudeis* = 32. 616-617 *primo ... postea* = 1183-1185. 618-619 *hoc scriptum est epitaphium* = 365. 621 Virgil, *Ecl.* 1, 1: *recubans sub tegmine fagi*. 624 *Redeuntibus ab ipsa ecclesia* cf. 631-632.

604 *pr. quo* (VM et *Innominatus VII*: Tobler, *Descriptiones*, p. 102 = *ms. Erlangen* 375, f. 7): cf. JW 293, *app. cr.* iure V, *Innominatus VII* et JW 293, *vere* (= 608) M 620 *tegis Bulst*, *regis VM* 622 *rotunda inferius, inferius VM*

in lato et longo quinque habens pedes, in quo dominus stans et
 ubi esset interrogatus, in Ierusalem, quam in medio orbis sitam
 asserunt, se esse respondit, et hic locus ideo 'Ierusalem' appel-
 latur. Item retro idem ostium e regione predicti loci, scilicet
 630 versus aquilonem, alius occurrit locus, illas continens aquas,
 quas Ezechiel propheta vidit de templo a latere dextro. Red-
 euntibus in ecclesiam maiorem ad meridiem iuxta chorum,
 ymmo sub ipso choro, ostium patet, per quod gradibus fere
 XLV in criptam intratur, ubi scribe et pharisei mulierem in
 635 adulterio deprehensam adduxerunt ad dominum Iesum eam
 accusantes, cui pius magister peccata dimisit et a condempna-
 tione liberavit, quo exemplo peregrinis indulgentia ibidem dari
 solet. Habet autem ipsa ecclesia fenestras inferius XXXVI,
 superius XIII, que simul iuncte faciunt quinquaginta, et est in
 640 honore nostre domine sancte Marie consecrata, cui etiam prin-
 cipale altare attitulatum est.

Ipsa quoque ecclesia a beata Helena regina et eius filio
 Constantino imperatore fertur esse fundata. Videamus ergo
 quotiens vel a quibus ipsum templum edificatum fuerit sive
 645 destructum. Sicut legitur in libro Regum, primus rex Salomon
 templum domino divina iussione magnis impensis edificavit, non
 rotundum, uti nunc conspicitur, sed oblongum, quod usque ad
 tempora Sedechie regis Iuda permansit. Qui captus a Nabucho-
 donosor rege Babiloniorum in Babiloniam captivus abductus
 650 est et cum eo Iuda et Benjamin captivati similiter in terram
 Assiriorum translati sunt. Mox Nabuzardan princeps coquorum
 ipsius in Iherusalem cum exercitu veniens templum et civitatem
 igne cremavit, et hec prima eiusdem templi fuit eversio. Post
 septuaginta autem captivitatis annos reversi ad terram Iuda,
 655 filii Israel ducibus Zorobabel et Esdra cum favore et permissione
 Cyri Persarum regis idem templum in eodem loco reedificave-

626 in lato et longo = 694. 626-628 Ezech. 5, 5: *Haec dicit dominus deus: ista est Ierusalem, in medio gentium posui eam* (cf. Ps. 73, 12). 631 Ezech. 47, 1-2.

631-632 *Redeuntibus in ecclesiam maiorem* cf. 624. 634-637 Fr 55, 4-5 (Ioh. 8, 3-11). 636 *pius magister* (cf. 1387) = 926. 637-638 *quo exemplo ... solet* cf. 914-915. 643-679 Cf. JW 223-229. 645 in libro Regum] 3 Reg. 5ff. 647-653 Fr 52, 2-6 (4 Reg. 24, 10-16). 647-648 *usque ad tempora ... permansit* = 669-670. 649-650 Nahum 2, 7: *captivus abductus est*. 651-653 4 Reg. 25, 8-21. 653-657 Fr 52, 6-8. 655-657 1 Esdr. 3, 2-9.

628 hic locus ideo M, hoc locus ille V 629 e regione V, a regione M
 631 *excidit forsitan* redundantes 634 XLV V, XV M 639 superius (cf. 622) V, vero add. M (cf. 220.698-699.806), sed cf. app. cr. ad 933 et 998, ubi etiam vero addit M 648 Iuda correxī, Iude VM, cf. JW 241, app. cr. 649 abductus M, adductus V

runt et quoad melius potuerunt ornaverunt. In reedificando autem templo et civitate una ut fertur manu lapides, alia propter gentilium circummanentium assiduas infestationes gladios tenebant. Hec ergo secunda fuit templi reedificatio. Postea eadem civitas, ut in Gestis Machabeorum legitur, ab Antiocho rege Sirie etsi non penitus, tamen ipsa ex maxima parte vastata est, ornatus templi penitus distractus, sacrificia prohibita, muri diruti, et quasi in solitudinem tam civitas quam templum redactum est. Quod postea Iudas Machabeus et fratres sui, cum adiutorio divino fugato Antiocho eiusque ducibus de Iudea propulsis, reedificaverunt et renovaverunt et reparato altari sacrificia et oblationes sicut prius sacerdotibus dispositis instituerunt. Hec quoque templi tertia fuit restitutio, que usque ad tempora permansit Herodis. Qui, ut Iosephus refert, contradicentibus licet Iudeis hoc templum solo deiciens, maiori et sumptuosiori opere aliud instituit, et hec quarta templi reedificatio fuit, que etiam usque ad tempora Vespasiani et Tyti perduravit, qui expugnata omni provincia tam civitatem quam templum funditus everterunt, et hec quarta templi fuit eversio. Post hec, ut paulo ante dictum est, hoc quod nunc videtur ad honorem domini nostri Iesu Christi eiusque pie genitricis ab Helena regina et eius filio imperatore Constantino constructum est, et hec etiam quinta templi fuit restitutio.

[17] Sequitur ad meridiem palatium Salomonis, quod in modum alicuius ecclesie oblongum ac columnis interius sustentatum necnon et in fine, sanctuarii similitudine, circulariter ductum et magna atque rotunda testudine elatum in speciem ut diximus ecclesie est formatum. Hoc cum omnibus appendiciis suis in proprietatem cessit militum Templariorum, qui in eo et in aliis domibus ad ipsum pertinentibus commanentes et arma, vestes atque cibaria habentes reposita ad custodiendam provinciam atque tuendam semper invigilant. Habent etiam sub se

657-660 2 Esdr. 4, 17 (659 *propter gentilium ... infestationes* = 104-105). 660-675 Fr 52, 9-12. 661 in *Gestis Machabeorum*: 1 Macc. 1, 30-39. 662-663 non penitus ... penitus. 665-669 1 Macc. 2, 6ff. and 4, 36ff. 669-670 usque ad tempora (= 673) permansit = 647-648. 670 ut Iosephus refert (= 132): (Latin version of) *Antiquitates* 15, 380-390 (Loeb). 673 usque ad tempora (= 669-670) ... perduravit = 1178-1179. 675-678 Fr 53, 3-4. 676 paulo ante: 642-643. 684 ut diximus] 680-681. 685 in proprietatem cessit = 110.

(657-)-658 templo et civitate (cf. 769.1455) V, templum et civitatem M 658 alia V, manu add. M 659 circummanentium V, circumiacentium M 662 ipsa M, om. V 663 est V, et add. M, cf. 16 675 quarta] quinta (= 679) VM, cf. 783, app. cr. 679 templi fuit V, fuit templi M 681 ac M, et V 683 et ... atque (cf. 26, app. cr.) V, ac ... atque M

stabula equorum ab ipso rege quondam edificata, ipsi palatio
 690 contigua, mirandi operis varietate perplexa, fornicibus erecta,
 arcubus et testudinibus multipliciter variata, que secundum
 nostram estimationem decem milia equorum cum eorum custo-
 dibus posse capere testati sumus. Denique a fine usque ad finem
 ipsius edificiū in longo et lato baleari arcu semel emissa sagitta
 695 nemo posset pertingere. Superius domibus, solariis ac edificiis
 cunctis utilitatibus aptis multiformiter habundat; superne vero
 deambulationibus, viridariis, pretoriis, vestibulis, consistoriis et
 pluviarum receptaculis in replendis cisternis exuberat, inferius
 vero lavacris, horreis, granariis, lignorum receptaculis ac ceteris
 700 necessitatū provisionibus superexcellit. Ex alia ipsius palatii
 parte, scilicet ad occidentem, novam Templarii domum consti-
 tuerunt, cuius altitudinem, longitudinem, latitudinem, cellaria,
 refectoria, gradus et tectum, preter illius terre morem alto
 culmine elatum, et si ego possem referre, auditor vix posset
 705 aliquis credere. Nam novam ibi constituerunt curiam, sicut ex
 alia parte habent antiquam, novam etiam ibidem ad latus atrii
 exterioris mire magnitudinis et operis condunt ecclesiam. Quante
 autem vires et divitiæ sint Templariorum non facile quisquam
 valet nosse, nam omnes fere civitates et villas, quibus olim tota
 710 locupletabatur Iudea, que a Romanis erant destructe, tam ipsi
 quam Hospitarii, constitutis ubique castellis et militibus in eis
 dispositis, sibi subiugaverunt, preter plurimas et infinitas pos-
 sessiones, quas in exteris terris habere noscuntur. [18] Et civi-
 tatis quidem murus a parte meridiana et orientali omnes eorum
 715 ambit habitationes, ab occidentali vero et aquilonali murus a
 Salomone factus tam eorum habitacula quam et atrium exterius
 et ipsum circuit Templum. Ad aquilonalem vero atrii partem
 ex reliquiis Antonie ab Herode facte unus cum una porta
 remansit paries. Ipse autem collis, in quo Templum situm est,

690 *fornicibus erecta* = 396-397. 691-692 *secundum nostram estimationem* cf. 1064-1065. 692-693 *decem milia ... capere* cf. JW 1367-1368. 694 *in longo et lato* = 626. *baleari arcu*: 'with even the best bow' (cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 14, 6, 44). *semel emissa*] Cf. Horace, *Ep.* 1, 18, 71: *et semel emissum (volat inrevocabile verbum, cf. AP 390)*. 695 *solariis* = 109. 696 *cunctis utilitatibus aptis* = 1251. 698 *pluviarum receptaculis* cf. 699. 699 *lignorum receptaculis* cf. 698. 703 *preter illius terre morem* cf. 98. 703-704 *tectum ... elatum* (cf. 405) cf. 98-99 (*alto culmine elatum* = 974). 704 *auditor* = 748.1628. Cf. 13: *lector*. 706-707 *novam ... ecclesiam*] Cf. JW 1371. 709-713 Cf. 476-482. 712 *sibi subiugaverunt* = 480-481. 713 *in exteris terris* = 477. 717-719 Cf. 131-135. 719-721 *Fr* 51, 1-5.

691 *que*] quos VM 695 *domibus* V, et *add. M, cf. 16* ac M, et V
 705 *aliquis* (cf. 708) M, *om. V* 706 *etiam ibidem V, ibidem etiam M*
 710 *locupletabatur* VM, *ta ss. m² M* 711 *ubique* V, *ubi M*

- 720 Moria antiquitus vocabatur, in quo rex David angelum domini vidit stantem et evaginato gladio populum cedentem, quando ad dominum dixit: *ego sum qui peccavi, ego inique egi, obsecro ut in me veritas manus et in domum patris mei: isti, qui oves sunt, quid fecerunt?* In hoc colle area fuit Ornan Iebusei, quam
 725 ad constructionem domus domini ab eo emit David. Hinc per quoddam posticum angusta via inter murum orientalem civitatis et ortum Templariorum transitur et ad venerabilem ecclesiam, que Ad Balneum sive Ad Presepe domini Salvatoris dicitur, pervenitur. Ibi cune domini Christi versus orientem in
 730 edito muro ante quandam fenestram honorifice disposite cernuntur, ad meridiem vero concha lapidea grandis in terra posita videtur, in qua balneorum usus infans ipse habuisse dinoscitur, ad aquilonalem vero partem lectus domine nostre, in quo dum filium suum lactaret decubuisse(t), ostenditur. In hanc ecclesiam
 735 quinquaginta fere gradibus descenditur, que etiam quondam domus iusti Symeonis fuit, in qua ipse in pace quiescit.

- [19] Ab ipsa ecclesia, scilicet ab ipso civitatis angulo versus meridiem per declivum montis latus secus antemurale, quo Templarii domos et curiam suam munierunt, ubi etiam antiquitus ipsius civitatis erat positio, recta ad natatoriam Sylloe
 740 via dirigitur, que ideo sic fertur vocari, quod a monte Silo occultis meatibus aque fontis illius illuc soleant illabi. Quod michi ideo est in ambiguo, quia et ipse mons, in quo est civitas sita, et alii interiacent montes nec recto tramite vallis quelibet
 745 ab ipso monte ad eam dirigitur nec propter remotionem locorum tanti montes cavari possent: distat enim mons Syllo a civitate miliaribus duobus. Hoc ergo in medio relinquentes, ea que vera esse novimus auditoribus proponamus: hoc pro vero fatemur, quod in fontis modum de terra scaturiat, qui scilicet fons ipsam
 750 replens piscinam et in aliam iuxta positam descendens non ultra comparet. Descenditur autem in ipsam piscinam gradibus XIII, ubi in circuitu fornices arcus gestantes consistunt, sub quibus magnis lapidibus per circuitum deambulatorium factum est, super quod consistentes inferius decurrentes haurire valeant

720-724 2 Reg. 24, 16-17. 724-725 (1285) Fr 51, 5-7 (2 Reg. 24, 18-25). 731-732 concha ... posita videtur = 815-816. 740-742 Fr 58, 7-11. 744 recto tramite (Boethius, Cons. Phil. 1 m. 7, 23) = 1076. 748 auditoribus = 704. 749 scaturiat] Viz. aqua (742 and 755). 750-751 non ultra comparet = 1019. 754-755 inferius decurrentes ... aquas = 1613-1614.

730 disposite V, deposite M 732 balneorum (cf. 728) M, balnearum V
 734 decubisset correxi 736 quiescit (= JW 1393) V, quievit (id est mortuus est) M 740 erat] era VM recta Bulst (cf. 1027-1028 et 744 = 1076), puta VM 745 dirigitur e correctura M 746 montes V, montis M

755 aquas. Alia autem piscina, quadrangula, simplici muro circumdata est. Ista natatoria olim erat infra civitatem, modo ab ea longe remota est, nam duplo fere tantum hic civitati demptum est, quantum circa Sepulchrum Domini additum est.

[20] Nunc igitur secundum Christi passionis ordinem nostre
760 narrationis nos oportet dirigere sermonem, qui per suam gratiam ita nobis ei donet compati, ut ei possimus conregnare.

Miliario ab Iherosolimis Bethania, ubi domus Symonis leprosi, Lazari et eius sororum Marie et Marthe erat, distat, ubi dominus sepius hospitari solebat. Sita est autem Bethania iuxta vallem
765 Oliveti Montem a parte orientali terminantem. A Bethania ergo in die Palmarum dilectissimus dominus noster Iesus Christus procedens et Bethfage veniens, qui locus inter Bethaniam et Montem Oliveti medius est, ubi etiam honesta capella in ipsius honore est fabricata, binos ad adducendam asinam et pullum
770 misit discipulos et stans super lapidem grandem, qui in ipsa capella manifeste videtur, et asino insidens per Montem Oliveti Iherosolimam properavit, cui turba multa in descensu montis ipsius obviam processit. Ipse vero progrediens ultra Vallem Iosaphat et torrentem Cedron ad Auream Portam, que duplex
775 est, pervenit. In cuius adventu una porta excusso pessulo per se illi patuit, alteram vero extracto violenter eius circulo cum sonitu magno patere fecit. Quapropter ibidem capella in eius honore consecrata est, ubi idem circulus deauratus in magna veneratione habetur. Ipsa vero porta nunquam nisi in die Palmarum et in Exaltatione sancte crucis solet aperiri pro eo, quod Heraclius imperator cum magna ipsius ligni portione, quod de Perside adduxerat, per eam transivit. Ipse autem in templum intrans in eo cotidie usque ad feriam quintam erat docens. [21] Cum eo igitur in Montem Syon cupio ascendere et quid post
785 hec fecerit videre, sed prius cum Petro volo incarcerationi, ut cum eo a Christo docear non negare sed orare. In via quippe de

755 *Alia ... piscina* = 750. 761 *ei ... compati* = 16-17. ei ... conregnare] See the note on lines 4-5. 762-764 Fr 59, 1-2. 762-763 domus Symonis leprosi] Matth. 26, 6; Marc. 14, 3. Ioh. 11, 1: *Erat autem ... Lazarus a Bethania, de castello Mariae et Marthae sororis eius.* 763-764 = 1000-1001. 766 *dilectissimus dominus noster Iesus Christus* = 31. 769 *asinam ...* 771 *asino*] Matth. 21, 2-7; Marc. 11, 1-7; Luc. 19, 29-35. See the note on JW 416. 770 *stans super lapidem grandem* = 963-964. 771-772 Fr 60, 1. 771 *asino*] Cf. 769, note. 772 Ioh. 12, 12: *turba multa.* 778-779 *in magna veneratione habetur* = 1393. 781-782 (cf. 331-333) Fr 53, 5-6.

771 *insidens V, insedens M* 776 *patuit ut videtur V, paruit M* 777 *patere fecit V, patefecit M* 778 *consecrata V, constructa M* 783 *quintam VM (cf. 675, app. cr.), quartam edd.*

Templo pergentibus ad Montem Syon decora occurrit capella,
in qua carcer ille profunda altitudine sub terra positus, utpote
ad quem septuaginta et amplius gradibus intratur, habetur, in
790 quo Herodes Iunior sanctum vinxerat Petrum, de quo eum
angelus domini eduxit. In introitu ipsius capelle isti sunt versus
descripti:

VESTIBUS INDUTUS, PETRE, SURGE, RECEDE SOLUTUS,
NAMQUE CATHENARUM SUNT VINCULA RUPTA TUARUM.
795 NUNC SCIO RE CERTA, CUM PORTA MICHİ SIT APERTA,
O PIETAS CHRISTI, QUONIAM ME SALVIFICASTI

[22] Syon ergo Mons, ad meridiem extra muros civitatis ex
maxima parte constitutus, ecclesiam domine nostre sancte Marie
attitulatam, muris, turribus, propugnaculis adversus gentilium
800 insidias valde munitam continet, in qua regulares prepositum
habentes deo deserviunt. Quam dum intraveris, in media abside
ad sinistram locum illum venerabilem reperies, marmore pre-
cioso exterius ac opere musivo interius decoratum, in quo
dominus noster Iesus Christus dilecte matris sue, domine nostre
805 sancte Marie animam assumens ad celestia transtulit. Quod
opus inferius quadratum est, superius vero rotundum gestat
ciborium. A dextris autem gradibus fere triginta ad illud as-
cenditur cenaculum quod in fine absidis situm est, in quo mensa
cernitur, in qua ipse dominus noster cum discipulis suis cenavit
810 et post proditoris abscessum ipsis discipulis corporis et sanguinis
sui misteria tradidit. Ab illo loco ad meridiem in eodem cenaculo
ultra spatium triginta pedum altare habetur in eo loco, ubi
Spiritus sanctus super apostolos venit. Abhinc tantum inferius
per gradus descenditur, quantum huc est ascensum, et in capella
815 ipsi cenaculo supposita concha illa lapidea in muro posita
videtur, in qua Salvator pedes apostolorum in eodem loco lavit.
Ubi iuxta ad dextram altare habetur in loco ubi Thomas latus

788-791 Fr 58, 1-3. 790 (= 1387) Herodes Iunior: *Agrippa videlicet* Fr 74, 10. 790-791 Act. 12, 3-10. 793-796 = JW 1351-1354. 795 See the note on JW 1353. 798 *domine nostre sancte Marie* = 804-805. 799-800 *muris ... munitam* cf. 87-88 (*adversus gentilium insidias* = 104-105). 801 *deo deserviunt* = 497-498. *Quam dum intraveris* = 1031. 804-805 *domine nostre sancte Marie* = 798. 805 *animam ... transtulit* = 868. 808-811 Fr 61, 2-4. 809-811 Matth. 26, 17-29; Marc. 14, 12-25; Luc. 22, 7-22. 812-813 Act. 2, 1-4. 815-816 *concha ... posita videtur* = 731-732. 816 Fr 61, 1. 817-818 Fr 66, 3-4 (Ioh. 20, 27-28).

799 turribus V, et *add. M*, cf. 16 804 matris *correxī*, matri VM 810-
811 corporis et sanguinis sui V, sui (*e suis corr.*) corporis et sanguinis M 817
Thomas V, sanctus Thomas M

domini post resurrectionem palpavit, qui pro hoc ipso 'Digitus'
 appellatur. Ex hoc per quoddam vestibulum circa ipsius ecclesie
 820 sanctuarium transitur et ad sinistram eius altare venerandum
 habetur, sub quo corpus beati Stephani prothomartiris a Io-
 hanne episcopo Ierosolimitano sepultum fuisse non dubitatur,
 quod postea a Theodosio imperatore de Constantinopoli Rome
 translatum esse legitur, quod etiam primo de Iherosolima
 825 Constantinopolim ab Helena regina perlatum esse fertur. Ante
 chorum quedam preciosi marmoris columpna iuxta murum
 posita est, quam simplices homines circumgirare solent.

[23] Hinc post cenam suam dominus trans torrentem Cedron
 egressus est, ubi erat ortus. Torrens Cedron per mediam Vallem
 830 Iosaphat graditur. In loco autem, ubi ortus ille fuit, ecclesia
 Beate Marie cum suis officinis constituta est, ubi ipsa corpora-
 liter fuit sepulta. Intratur vero per quendam porticum gradibus
 amplius quam quadraginta in criptam, in qua sanctum eius
 exstat sepulchrum, quod opere preciosissimo de marmore et
 835 opere musivo decoratum est. In huius cripte introitu hii duo
 versus appositi sunt:

HEREDES VITE, DOMINAM LAUDARE VENITE
 PER QUAM VITA DATUR MUNDIQUE SALUS REPARATUR

Quod in circuitu XX columnis arcus gestantibus circumdatum
 840 limbum in circuitu ac tectum desuper habet. In ipso autem
 limbo hii quatuor versus descripti sunt:

HIC IOSAPHAT VALLIS, HINC EST AD SYDERA CALLIS.
 IN DOMINO FULTA FUIT HIC MARIA SEPULTA,
 HINC EXALTATA CELOS PETIT INVIOLOATA
 845 SPES CAPTIVORUM, VIA, LUX ET MATER EORUM

Super tectum quoque ciborium rotundum sex duplicibus co-
 lumnis fultum cum pila et cruce deaurata desuper habet et
 inter duas columnnellas undique lampas dependet. Ad ipsum
 autem sepulchrum a parte occidentali intratur et per aquilo-

820 altare venerandum = 274-275. 823-825 Fr 67, 5-6. 825 Constantinopolim
 ... perlatum = 1392. 827 simplices homines cf. 1121-1122. 832 porticus masculine!
 834 opere preciosissimo = 164. 837-838 = JW 1226-1227. 839-840 in
 circuitu ... circumdatum ... in circuitu sic. 842-845 = JW 1206-1209. 847
 pila et cruce deaurata desuper = 567.

818 resurrectionem V, suam add. M 824 quod V, et quod M, cf. 16 831
 officinis V, officiatis M 840 ac M, et V 842 hic ... hinc correxi coll. JW
 1206, hic ... hic VM 844 inviolata ex inviolata corr. M 847 fultum V,
 saltum M

850 nalem exitur. Assumptio autem ipsius in celatura superius
optime depicta est, subiecta linea hanc scripturam continente:

ASSUMPTA EST MARIA IN CELUM, GAUDENT ANGELI ET
COLLAUDANTES BENEDICUNT DOMINUM

Circa sanctuarium quoque ipsius basilice regula porrigitur hanc
855 continens scripturam:

EXALTATA ES, SANCTA DEI GENITRIX, SUPER CHOROS AN-
GELORUM AD CELESTIA REGNA

Abhinc in ipsam ecclesiam tantis ascenditur gradibus, quantis
in criptam descensum est. Est autem ipsa ecclesia et omnes
860 eius officine muris altis, turribus firmis et propugna<culis> ad-
versus gentilium insidias valde munita, circa se plurimas habens
cisternas. Exeuntibus ipsam criptam ad sinistram capella par-
vula in ipsis sita gradibus occurrit. In ipsa quoque ecclesia
Suriani proprium habent altare. In celatura vero, que ipsis
865 gradibus, quibus in ipsam criptam descenditur, incumbit, mi-
gratio domine nostre cernitur esse depicta, ubi dilectus filius
eius dominus noster Iesus Christus cum multitudine angelorum
assistens et eius animam suscipiens ad celestia transfert, apo-
stolis gemituose astantibus et devotum ei ministerium exhi-
870 bentibus. Cuius corpori sanctissimo feretro imposito dum
superpositum velamen vellet quidam Iudeus avellere, angelus
utrasque manus ei gladio amputavit, quibus in terram caden-
tibus trunci in corpore remanserunt inanes. Fertur enim quia,
cum ipsa domina nostra migrasset de corpore in Monte Syon,
875 ut in anterioribus dictum est, et sancti apostoli sanctissimum
corpus ipsius feretro reverenter impositum ad Vallem Iosaphat
tumulandum per viam, extra muros civitatis versus meridiem

852-853 (= JW 1256) Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 60, nr. 1503 (Assumptio s. Mariae).

856-857 (= JW 1196-1197, cf. 1262) Hesbert, CAO 3, p. 214, nr. 2762
(Assumptio s. Mariae). On the reading *es* see the introduction, pp. 25-26. 860-

861 *muris ... munita* cf. 87-88 (*adversus gentilium insidias* = 104-105). *altis ... firmis*
cf. 1382-1383. 865-870 Cf. JW 1260-1262. 868 *animam ... transfert* = 805.

869 *gemituose* very rare, maybe Th's coinage, see the introduction, note 28.

870 *corpori ... imposito* = 875-876. 871 *superpositum ... avellere* = 881-882.

angelus] See the critical apparatus: Th only adds *dei* or *domini* when that
expression has been taken from the Bible, see 720.791.1377. 873-878 Cf.
Fr 66, 10-11. 875 *ut in anterioribus* (865-868) *dictum est* = 965-966.1445. 875-
876 *sanctissimum ... impositum* = 870.

851 continente V, continens M 856 *es]* est JW 1258 860 pro pugna
VM 863 sita V, suis M 863-864 quoque ... vero M, quoque ... quoque
V 871 angelus V, angelus domini M, cf. *adn*.

tendentem, ducerent, Iudei, nondum sopita invidie et odii flamma, quam dudum in eam eiusque filium exercuerant, ut ei aliquid
 880 ignominie inferrent accurrerunt. Quorum unus audacior ac ceteris infelicior ad sancti corporis gestatorium accedens velamen ei superpositum ausu improbo nisus est avellere, sed hanc eius temeritatem et beate virginis merita et ultio divina graviter multaverunt, nam utrisque manibus et brachiis arefactis, ceteris
 885 non sine horrore velocem fugam incussit. [24] Progressus deinde versus Montem Oliveti ad meridiem, non modica tibi occurrit ecclesia Getsemani nuncupata, ubi Salvator cum discipulis suis ab orto veniens intravit et ad eos dixit: *Sedete hic, donec vadam illuc et orem*. Ingressus itaque in eam statim invenies altare
 890 venerandum et ad sinistram in subterraneum specum ingrediens quatuor loca invenies denotata, in quibus singulis terni apostoli cubantes obdormierunt. Est etiam ad sinistram saxum grande in ipsius specus angulo, in quod ipse Christus digitos imprimens sex in eo fecit foramina, *et ipse avulsus est ab eis quantum iactus*
 895 *est lapidis*. Nam paulo altius versus Montem Oliveti ad meridiem trinam fecit orationem, in quo loco nova nunc edificatur ecclesia. Est vero unus locus unius orationis in abside sinistra, alius in medio chori, tercius in abside dextra. Inter Getsemani autem et loca orationum, medio spatio in latere Montis Oliveti,
 900 ubi turbe domino cum ramis palmarum occurrerunt, ex lapidibus locus altus factus est, in quo in die Palmarum a patriarcha palme benedicuntur. Circa hec itaque loca, cum Iesus paveret et tederet, adveniens Iudas cum laternis et facibus et armis et ministri Iudeorum comprehenderunt eum et ligaverunt et ad
 905 atrium principis sacerdotum, scilicet Cayphe, pertraxerunt, quem cum tota nocte illusissent, mane eum iudici Pylato presentarunt. [25] Quem post multas interrogationes cum eo habitas ad locum iudicarium duci fecit et sedit pro tribunali in loco

879-880 *ut ei ... inferrent* cf. 1581. 881-882 *velamen ... avellere* = 871. 885-886 Progressus ... tibi] Contamination! 886 *non modica* = 1349-1350. 888-889 Matth. 26, 36. 889 *invenies ... 891 invenies*. 889-890 *altare venerandum* = 274-275. 894 *sex ... foramina*] Cf. JW 887 (*quinque*). 894-895 (cf. 1314) Luc. 22, 41. 899 *medio spatio* = 538. *in latere Montis Oliveti* = 984. 900 Ioh. 12, 12-13. 902-903 Marc. 14, 33: *coepit pavere et tedere*. 903-904 Ioh. 18, 3: *Iudas ... venit illuc cum laternis et facibus et armis*, and 18, 12: *ministri Iudeorum comprehenderunt Iesum et ligaverunt eum*. 908-909 Fr 62, 12 (Ioh. 19, 13: *sedit pro tribunali in loco qui dicitur Lithostrotos, hebraice autem Gabbatha* = JW 894).

880 ignominee M, ignomine V 881 gestatorium V, gestacionem M 882 ausu ex ausa corr. M avellere ex evellere corr. M 883 et ... et V, ac ... et M 884 multaverunt] multuaverunt VM 885 velocem fugam V, fugam velocem M deinde V, namque M 903 Iudas V, Iudeis M laternis V, lucernis M et armis V, ac armis M

qui vocatur Lithostrotos, qui locus ante ecclesiam Beate Marie
 910 in Monte Syon in edito versus civitatis murum situs est, ubi
 capella venerabilis in honore domini nostri Iesu Christi habetur,
 in qua pars magna columpne exstat, circa quam ligatus dominus
 a Pilato, postquam crucis appensione ab eo adiudicatus est,
 iussus est flagellari, ubi peregrini ad eius exemplum flagellari
 915 solent. Ante ipsam vero ecclesiam in lapide ad crucis similitu-
 dinem facto hec scriptura exarata est:

ISTE LOCUS VOCATUR LITHOSTROTOS ET HIC DOMINUS FUIT
 IUDICATUS

Dehinc versus orientem ad dexteram ex alia parte platee gra-
 920 dibus quinquaginta descenditur in ecclesiam 'Galilea' nuncu-
 patam, ubi duo circuli cathene, qua beatus Petrus erat vinctus,
 habentur. Deinde ad sinistram altaris partem sexaginta fere
 gradibus descenditur in subterraneum specum obscurissimum,
 in quem Petrus fugiens post negationem in eius angulo latuit.
 925 Ibi etiam depictus est residens, et caput in manibus declinans
 pii magistri incommoda ac suam deflet negationem, ancilla ei
 minaciter instante et gallo ante eius pedes stante et canente.
 Huic ecclesie presunt Armenii. Hinc dominus, per civitatis
 murum circumductus, in Calvariam, ubi tunc orti habebantur,
 930 nunc domus habentur, ductus et crucifixus est, nam, sicut
 apostolus ait, dominus *extra portam passus est*.

Et de Christo quidem et eius locis ea, que visu didicimus, pro
 posse narravimus; nunc quedam de eius amicis et aliis locis
 nota referemus, post hec quedam a nobis visa, quedam ab aliis
 935 nobis relata dicemus.

[26] Iuxta viam que ducit ad portam orientalem Auree Porte
 vicinam secus domum vel palatium Pilati, quam eidem vie
 contiguam esse supra diximus, ecclesia Beate Anne sita est,
 matris domine nostre sancte Marie, ad cuius sepulchrum in

912-914 = 359-360. 913-914 Matth. 27, 26. 914-915 ubi ... solent cf.
 637-638. 920 descenditur in ... 923 descenditur in. Galilea] See the note on
 JW 914. 922-923 sexaginta ... specum cf. 939-940. 923-924 Fr 62, 15-16.
 926 pii magistri = 636. 926-927 Ioh. 18, 17 and 25-27. 928 Huic ecclesie
 presunt Armenii = 319-320. 931 Hebr. 13, 12. 932-933 pro posse = 12.
 934 a nobis visa = 1627. 938 supra] 130-131. 939-940 in ... viginti cf.
 922-923.

916 facto V, facte M 925 etiam M, enim V 926 ac M, et V 930
 nunc V, nuncque M, cf. 16 933 nunc V, vero add. M, cf. app. cr. ad 639 934
 quedam V, et quedam M, cf. 16

- 940 subterraneum specum gradibus descenditur fere viginti. Sanctimoniales in ea sub abbatissa deo deserviunt. Ad cuius aquilonalem partem qui progreditur, in valle profunda iuxta lapidosum quendam collem, cui vetus quoddam opus incumbit, Piscinam Probaticam inveniet, que, sicut in evangelio scribitur, 945 quinque porticus habet, in cuius ultimo altare constitutum est. Quicumque muros circuit civitatis, a Turri David itineris initium faciens, iuxta angulum occidentalem ecclesiam et habitacula leprosorurn ornata et bene ordinata repperiet. Pertransiens autem cisternam grandem Hospitatorum, antequam venias 950 ad portam aquilonalem ecclesia Beati Stephani prothomartiris in colle sita tibi occurret, qui per ipsam portam eiectus et a Iudeis lapidatus celos ibidem vidit apertos. Est autem in ipsa ecclesia media locus gradibus elatus, pariete ferreo septus, in cuius medio altare venerandum et cavum habetur, ubi locus 955 lapidationis eius fuit et celi super eum apertionis. Hec ecclesia abbati Sancte Marie in Latina subiacet. In ipsa vero porta hospitale venerandum habetur, quod grece *xenodochium* vocatur. Per ipsam quoque viam cum aliquamdiu transieris, ad sinistram viam carpens versus orientem, ecclesiam quandam quam tenent 960 Armenii repperies, in qua quidam sanctus nomine Kariton requiescit, cuius ossa acsi viveret carne teguntur.

[27] Post hec, cum tempus et hora dominice ascensionis instaret, consenzo dominus Monte Oliveti stans super lapidem grandem videntibus apostolis eisque benigna dignatione benedictis celos ascendit. Est autem Mons Oliveti, ut in anterioribus 965 dictum est, omnibus circumpositis civitati montibus eminentior, omnium fructuum proventibus habundans. In cuius summo cacumine ecclesia summe venerationis, honori ipsius Salvatoris attitulata, continetur: nec enim locis ipsius domini presentia

940-941 = 999-1000 (*deo deserviunt* = 497-498). 944 Fr 57, 1. in evangelio] Ioh. 5, 2. 947 *initium faciens* = 74-75. 948 Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De precepto et dispensatione* 16, 45 (ed. Leclercq, vol. III, p. 284, 16): *de ... bene ordinatis monasteriis*, and 16, 49 (p. 286, 28-29): *in cenobiis bene ordinatis*.

952 Act. 7, 56: *et ait* (Stephanus): *Ecce video caelos apertos*. 953 *pariete ferreo septus* cf. 188. 954 *altare venerandum et cavum* = 1134, cf. 274-275. 957 (hospitale) *venerandum* cf. 954. 959-961 Fr 48, 8-9, ecclesiam quam tenent Armenii] Cf. 319-320. 960 *quidam sanctus nomine ...* = 1039. 961 *ossa ... teguntur* cf. 1039-1040. 963-964 *stans super lapidem grandem* = 770. 964 Act. 1, 9: *videntibus illis*. 965-966 *ut in anterioribus* (72) *dictum est* = 875. 967 *omnium fructuum proventibus habundans* cf. 56-57. 967-968 *In cuius summo cacumine* = 1302-1303. 968 (ecclesia) *summe venerationis* = 324-325.

942 qui V, qua M 945 in V, et M 946 Turri V, Turre M 947 faciens V, fluens M 949 venias V, veniens M 951 ante tibi deletum est ubi M

- illustratis alia consecratio in partibus illis adhiberi solet. Preter ipsam certe montis altitudinem in ipsam ecclesiam viginti magnis ascenditur gradibus. In medio autem ipsius ecclesie opus quoddam rotundum, magnifice Pario marmore et ciborio decoratum ac alto culmine elatum existit, in cuius medio altare
 975 reverendum habetur, sub quo lapis ille videtur, in quo dominus celos scandens stetisse perhibetur. In ipsa vero ecclesia canonici officia divina peragunt; que et ipsa turribus magnis et parvis ac muris, propugnaculis et nocturnis custodiis valde adversus gentiles extat munita. Exeuntibus de ipsa ecclesia versus occidentem ecclesiola subterraneo specu tenebrosa <occurrit>, in
 980 quem cum gradibus XXV fuerit descensum in sarcofago grandi corpus beate Pelagie cernitur, que ibidem inclusa in divino servitio vitam finivit. Item ad occidentem iuxta viam Bethaniam tendentem in latere Montis Oliveti magne reverentie habetur ecclesia, in quo loco residens Salvator et a discipulis
 985 qualiter orare deberent interrogatus eos orare docuit, dicens: *Pater noster, qui es in celis*. Hoc eis propria scripsit manu, hoc sub ipso altari integre scriptum est ita, ut illud peregrini osculari possint. A medietate quoque ipsius ecclesie in subterraneum
 990 specum gradibus fere triginta descenditur, ubi dominus sepius residens discipulos docuisse perhibetur.

[28] Igitur Ierosolima in hac narratione quasi capite in corpore premissa, reliqua loca quasi membra huic operi oportet inseri.

- Sequitur ergo Bethania, et ipsa nichilominus tam loci natura
 995 quam operis firmitate munita, ubi venerabilis et duplex ecclesia sita est, una beati Lazari corpore, quem quarto die sepulture sue a mortuis dominus suscitavit quique XV annis Ierosolimorum ecclesiam rexit, altera sororum eius Marie et Marthe pignoribus gloriosa. Sanctimoniales ibi sub abbatisa deo

973-974 *magnifice ... decoratum* = 245. 974 *alto culmine elatum* = 703-704.
 974-975 *altare reverendum* = 274-275. 977-979 *turribus ... munita* cf. 87-88
 (adversus gentiles = 104-105). 980-981 *in quem cum ... fuerit descensum* = 1227-
 1228.1341-1342. 984 *in latere Montis Oliveti* = 899. 985 *in quo loco residens*
 cf. 990-991. 986-987 Matth. 6, 9. 988-989 *osculari* cf. 175 = 1145. 990-
 991 cf. 985. 992 *quasi capite in corpore* cf. 43 and 384-385: *quasi (sicut) oculus*
in capite. 994 *et ipsa* cf. 977-979. 996-997 *quarto die sepulture sue*: Ioh. 11,
 39. 998 *sorum eius*: Luc. 10, 38-39. 999-1000 = 940-941 (*deo deservunt*
 = 497-498). 999 *abbatisa*] See line 377.

973 ciborio V et e correctura M 974 ac M, et V 978 ac M, et V 979
 munita V, munitata M 980 occurrit *edd.*, cf. 456 et 862-863, et *passim* 987
 celis V, et cetera *add.* M *alt.* hoc V, et hoc M, cf. 16 993 pretermismissa VM,
corr. Bulst 998 altera V, vero *add.* M, cf. *app. cr.* ad 639

- deserviunt. Hic frequenter dominus et Salvator noster hospitabatur. Ultra Bethaniam versus orientem quarto ab Iherusalem miliario in monte sita est Cisterna Rubea cum capella, in qua proiectus a fratribus Ioseph fuisse perhibetur, ubi Templarii firmum castrum constituerunt. Dehinc ultra tria miliaria Ortus
- 1005 Abrahe in planitie amena iuxta Iordanem, miliario scilicet ab eo, existit, cuius magnitudo duplex magnum et ameno rivo circumfluum includit campum. Cuius campi latitudo usque ad Iordanem, longitudo usque ad Mare Mortuum distenditur, novalia omnium fructuum proventibus apta habens, lignis pluribus
- 1010 sed tribulorum more exasperatis habundans. Ipsum autem Ortum innumerabilium quidem pomorum sed exiguorum generibus refertum vidimus, maturum vero ordeum in secunda Palmarum feria ibi perspeximus. Turres ibi plures et domos ingentes violentia optinet Templariorum, quorum moris est, simul et
- 1015 Hospitatorum, peregrinis ad Iordanem pergentibus conductum facere et ne in eundo vel redeundo sive ibi pernoctando a Sarracenis ledantur illis providere. [29] Abhinc Iordanis miliario distat, cuius cursus flexuosus et rapidus secus montes Arabie decurrens Mortuo Mari se ingerit nec ultra comparet. A Rubea siquidem Cisterna usque ad predictam vallem horribile interiacet desertum, in quod ductus est dominus Iesus ut temptaretur a dyabolo. In fine namque ipsius deserti mons terribilis, altissimus et precipitio singulari fere inaccessibilis existit, qui sicut superius enormi attollitur vertice, ita inferius profunda et obscura horret valle. Hunc laici Querentinam, nos appellare possumus 'Quadragesimum' eo, quod in eo sedens dominus quadraginta diebus et totidem noctibus ieiunavit. Via ad eum locum ubi dominus sedit, scilicet in medio montis latere, non recta sed

1000-1001 = 763-764. 1001-1002 Fr 71, 14-16. 1006-1008 A rather clumsy description of the topography of the "Garden of Abraham" (the oasis of Jericho) as part of the surrounding plain, which was twice the size of the "Garden" and (more or less) bounded by the Wadi Qelt (1006-1007 and 1054-1056). 1009 *omnium fructuum proventibus apta* = 56-57. 1012 *maturum*] Cf. 1080-1081, and 1084 *precoquis*. 1012-1013 Probably 14 April 1169, see the introduction, p. 28, and the note on line 125. 1016 *in eundo vel redeundo* = 1322-1323. 1018 *flexuosus et rapidus*] See the introduction, note 28. 1019 *nec ultra comparet* = 750-751. 1020 *predictam vallem*] 1004ff. 1022 Ex. 19, 18: (Sinai) *mons terribilis*. 1024 *attollitur vertice* cf. 72. 1025-1027 Fr 73, 1-3. 1026-1027 *quadraginta ... ieiunavit* = 1043-1044. 1097-1098 (Matth. 4, 2 and Luc. 4, 2).

1010 *exasperatis* V, *exasperans* M 1011 *quidem* V, *om.* M 1021 *dominus* Iesus (= 635.1357) V, *dominus noster Iesus Christus* M, cf. 449, *app. cr.* 1024 *post superius erasum est verbum (diximus?)* M ita V, ita et M, cf. *app. cr. ad 16 et 1606* 1027 *cum* V, *eundem* M

- multis anfractibus perplexa existit, que passim labilis existens
 1030 ascendentes aliquando manibus repere cogit. In cuius altitudine
 ianua exstat, quam dum intraveris et aliquantulum vie transie-
 ris, capellam specui additam, manuali opere factam, in honore
 domine nostre consecratam reperies. Unde sursum via laboriosa
 in altum sine gradibus ducta progrediens et ipsius montis
 1035 grandem et hispidam fissuram pertransiens, per aliam ingredie-
 ris portam et reflexo itinere semel et iterum gradato ad tercium
 ostium pervenies, quod subiens altariolum in honore sancte
 crucis factum cernes et ad dexteram eiusdem domuncule sepulchrum
 cuiusdam sancti nomine Piligrini ostenditur, cuius
 1040 manus carnea adhuc demonstratur. Adhuc per gradus fere XVI
 in summam edem ascendens, in orientem altare venerandum et
 ad occidentem ipsius venerabilem locum sessionis domini nostri
 Iesu Christi invenies, in quo ut dictum est XL diebus et totidem
 noctibus ieiunavit peractoque ieiunio ei angeli ministraverunt.
 1045 Hic locus in medio ipsius montis situs est, quia eius vertex
 tantum sursum eminet, quantum inferius profunditas patet. In
 cuius summitate saxum ingens conspicitur, in quo dyabolus
 sedisse ad insidiandum ei perhibetur. Ab isto monte <pro>spectus
 ultra Iordanem in Arabiam longissimo visu porrigitur necnon
 1050 et ultra Mare Mortuum Egypti termini pervidentur; muri autem
 ipsius Querentine et specus subterranei multis cibariis et ar-
 maturis sunt Templariorum referti: nec enim fortiozem et pa-
 ganis infestiozem possunt habere munitionem. In ascensu sive
 descensu montis huius, ad radicem videlicet ipsius, fons magnus
 1055 ebullit, qui et ipsum Abrahe Ortum et universam circumpositam
 planitiem irrigat. Ibi peregrini, ut dictum est, in planitie ipsius
 fontis rivo irrigua pernoctare solent, ut et ad Querentinam

1030 *repere* = 169. 1031 *quam dum intraveris* = 801. 1036 *reflexo itinere*
 cf. 499. 1039 *cuiusdam sancti nomine* ... = 960. 1039-1040 Cf. 961. 1041
altare venerandum = 274-275. 1043 *ut dictum est*] 1026-1027. 1044 Matth.
 4, 11 (Marc. 1, 13): *et ... angeli ... ministrabant ei*. 1046-1047 *In cuius summitate*
 = 414-415. 1047-1048 Matth. 4, 1ff. 1051-1052 *cibariis et armaturis* cf.
 1233. 1054-1055 (cf. 1006-1007) *fons ... ebullit* = 1519-1520. Cf. 4 Reg. 2,
 19-22. 1055-1056 Cf. 1096. 1056 *ut dictum est*] 1016.

1029 *perplexa* V, *perplex* M 1030 *ascendentes* V, *ascendentibus* (...
manibus) M *repere* V, *reppere* M 1031-1032 *transieris* (= 958) M,
transegeris V 1032 *additam*] *addito* VM 1035 *fissuram* V, *scissuram* (cf.
 411 (*et adn. ad locum*) et 431-433) M 1039 *Piligrini* V, *Pilgrimi* M 1040
 XVI *habet* V, XII *sed V supra X ss.* M 1048 *ei* V, *Christo* M *prospectus*
correcti (cf. 1064), *spectus* VM, *as add. m²* M

- oratum pergant et aquis Iordanicis se mudent. Tribus quippe lateribus ipsius Orti adversus paganorum insidias *** tuentur, a quarto Hospitiorum et Templariorum custodiis observantur. [30] Quem locum cum nos etiam pauperes orandi causa adissemus, aquis Iordanicis cum ceteris mundari cupientes, post solis occasum iam incumbentibus tenebris descendentes et de ipsa altitudine in subiectam planitiem prospectantes, secundum nostre estimationis computationem ad amplius quam ad sexaginta milia hominum in ea consistere vidimus, omnium in manibus fere candelas gestantium; quos sane omnes e montibus Arabicis ultra Iordanem commanentes intueri poterant pagani, cum adhuc amplior numerus peregrinorum in Iherusalem moraretur, qui videlicet nuper applicuerant. In ipso autem loco ubi dominus noster a Iohanne baptizatus est, lapis magnus situs est, in quo fertur Salvator noster stetisse dum baptizaretur et Iordanis ad eum venisse fluentia, non autem eum intrasse. Super ipsum vero litus Iordanis ecclesia quedam sita est, in qua monachi sex habitantes a Sangino Noradini patre decapitati sunt. Est ibi et forte castrum Templariorum. Redeunti recto tramite de Iordane versus Iherusalem in ipsa planitie campestri antequam ingrediari montana Iericho occurrit, quam rivus ab ipsis decurrens iugis preterfluit, que in parvum modo opidum est redacta. Est tamen ipsa in fertili terra sita, ubi primum omnes fructus solent maturescere; rose ibi plurime nascuntur, que foliis multipliciter exuberantibus dilatantur – unde domine nostre convenit illa comparatio: *et sicut plantatio rose in Iericho* –, botris quoque maximis et precoquis excellit. Hic locus ecclesie Beati Lazari

1058 *aquis Iordanicis se mudent* = 1062. 1059 *adversus paganorum insidias* = 104-105. tuentur] I suspect that some of the text is missing, possibly by ὁμοιοτέλευτον. Subjects of *tuentur* are either the pilgrims themselves (*semetipsos*) *tuentur*, or else ... The site itself hardly has any natural defenses, and the Templars and Hospitallers apparently provided protection on only one side (note the difference between *Tribus* ... a *quarto*). 1061 *nos* ... *pauperes* = 309. *orandi causa* = 301-302. 1062 *aquis* ... *mundari* = 1058. 1064-1065 *secundum* ... *computationem* cf. 691-692. 1071 *lapis magnus situs est* = 529. 1072 Matth. 3, 13-16; Marc. 1, 9; Luc. 3, 21. 1076 *recto tramite* = 744. 1077 *campestri*] Cf. 1446-1447. 1080-1081 See the note on 1012 *maturum*. 1083 Eccli. 24, 18. 1084 *precoquis*] Cf. 1080-1081, and 1012 *maturum*.

1059 *lacunam statui: desideratur subiectum verbi tuendi* 1061 *eciam e correctura* M 1066 *omnium corr.* Tobler, omnibus VM (omnibus ... *gestantia Buls*) 1075 Sangino] Saingino V, Satagino M 1078 *ipsis*] scilicet montanis Iherusalem in *textu* add. M, in *marginē inferiore* add. m² V. Cf. *app. cr. ad* 1623-1624 1084 *precoquis* V, *precipuis* M

1085 in Bethania dicioni subiaceret, sed propter Sarracenorum incursus inculta iacet terra. In hac via versus aquilonem ad dexteram clare videntur montes Gelboe iuxta predictam planitiem siti.

[31] Desertum, per quod olim dominus filios Israel transduxit cum ascendissent de Mari Rubro, inter Egyptum et Arabiam interiacet, in quo eos pane celesti sicut legitur pavit et in quo eis aquam de petra produxit. Illud vero desertum, in quo filii Israel XII fontes aquarum et palmas septuaginta repperierunt, in terminis Arabie existit, quod Elim appellatur. In Arabia quoque Vallis est que 'Moysi' appellatur eo, quod ibi populo de 1095 petra aquam percutiens virga bis silicem produxit, a quo fonte tota nunc irrigatur terra. In eadem provincia mons Synai habetur, in quo Moyses quadraginta diebus et totidem noctibus ieiunavit, sed et legem digitis dei in lapideis tabulis scriptam ibidem accepit. Mons Hor, in quo sepultus est Aaron, in Arabia 1100 situs est, similiter et mons Abarim, in quo dominus Moysen sepelivit, cuius tamen tumulus non comparet. Item in Arabia Mons est qui appellatur 'Regalis', quem Baldewinus rex Iherosolimorum belli lege subactum Christianorum dicioni subiecit. Hii sunt termini atque provincie, per quos filii Israel de Egypto 1105 ascendentes et Mare Rubrum transeuntes, percusso Seon rege Amorreorum et Och rege Basan, que provincie inter Ydumeam et Arabiam sunt site, Iordane transmisso terram promissionis intraverunt. In ipso autem loco, ubi Christus est baptizatus, Iordanem transierunt captaque Ihericho in campestribus sita 1110 terram, ut dictum est, promissionis optinuerunt. Arabia autem tempore transitus filiorum Israel solitudo erat, in tantum, quod nec nomen provincie tunc habebat.

1085 dicioni subiaceret = 1328.1575. 1085 propter Sarracenorum incursus = 104-105. 1087 clare videntur = 402. 1090 sicut legitur] Ex. 16, 4ff. 1091 aquam de petra produxit = 1094-1095. 1091-1093 Fr 13, 15 (Ex. 15, 27; Num. 33, 9). 1093-1094 appellatur ... appellatur ... 1102 appellatur. 1093-1096 Fr 18, 10-12 (Num. 20, 11). 1094-1095 de petra aquam ... produxit = 1091. 1096 Cf. 1055-1056. 1096-1099 Fr 15, 2-5 (Ex. 24, 12-18 and 34, 28; Ex. 31, 18 and Deut. 9, 10: duas tabulas lapideas scriptas digito dei). 1097-1098 quadraginta ... ieiunavit = 1026-1027. 1099-1100 Fr 19, 1-3 (Num. 20, 25-29 and 33, 38). 1100-1101 Fr 20, 14-16 (Deut. 32, 48-49 and 34, 5-6). 1101-1103 Fr 24, 3-6. 1104-1106 Fr 20, 7-8. 1105-1106 Deut. 3, 1-7 and 29, 7. 1109 in campestribus sita = 1290. 1110 ut dictum est] 1107-1108. 1110-1111 Fr 12, 1. 1112 nomen provincie: explicative genitive.

1091 vero V, quoque M 1093-1094 quoque V, etiam M 1095 percutiens e percussiens corr. M 1099 Hor V, hic M 1102 Baldewinus V et M, cf. adn. cr. ad 364.366 1103 subiecit e correctura V 1106 et Och V, et (ss.) Og M

[32] Quisquis per occidentalem urbis portam Turri David
 1115 duo civitatis latera cingentem, iuxta novam cisternam per-
 transierit, ultra spatium dimidii miliaris ad capellam magne
 venerationis, honori domine nostre sancte Marie attitulatam,
 perveniet, ubi ipsa cum de Bethleem Iherosolimam pergeret
 frequenter repausare solebat. Ante cuius fores cisterna existit,
 1120 ex qua transeuntes refocillari solent. Exinde campus existit, in
 quo plurime lapidum congeries posite sunt, quos simplices
 peregrini illic ideo conguessisse se gaudent, quia in die iudicii in
 hiis sedibus se sessuros autumant. Ubi etiam iuxta locus qui
 dicitur Katabrata, ubi Rachel uxor Iacob cum Benjamin pepe-
 1125 risset defuncta est; qua ibidem sepulta Iacob XII lapides super
 ipsius tumulum conguessit, ubi etiam pyramis eius nomini assi-
 gnata consistit.

[33] Sequitur gloriosa civitas dei Bethleem, in qua secundum
 prophetarum vaticinia dilectissimus dominus noster Iesus Chri-
 1130 stus homo natus est. In qua ecclesia venerabilis, episcopalis se-
 dis honore prefulgens, habetur, principale altare honori domine
 nostre sancte Marie attitulatum est. In fine vero dextralis absidis
 iuxta chorum gradibus XXV in subterraneum specum descen-
 ditur, ubi altare venerandum et cavum, cruciolam solotenus
 1135 impressam habens, habetur, quod quatuor columpnellis mar-
 moreum et grandem lapidem gestantibus compositum est. In
 quo loco hii duo versus leguntur appositi:

ANGELICE LUMEN VIRTUTIS ET EIUS ACUMEN
 HIC NATUS VERE DEUS EST DE VIRGINE MATRE

1140 Ad dexteram autem, scilicet versus occidentem, in eadem spe-
 lunca descenditur gradibus quatuor ac ad illud presepe perve-

1113-1114 *per ... portam Turri David contiguam* = 1225-1226. 1114 *reflexo ...*
calle = 499. 1116 *spatium dimidii miliaris* = 1359. 1116-1117 *capellam magne*
venerationis cf. 324-325. 1119-1120 *existit ... existit*. 1121-1122 *lapidum congeries*
 (cf. 55-56) ... *conguessisse* cf. 1125-1126. *simplices peregrini* cf. 827. 1123-1127
 Fr 49, 1-5 (Gen. 35, 18-20). 1124 Katabrata] See the note on JW 187-188.
 1124-1125 Gen. 35, 16-19. 1125-1126 *lapides ... conguessit* (Gen. 35, 20) =
 1121-1122. 1128 Cf. Fr 46, 1. *gloriosa civitas* cf. 1503, and JW 193. 1128-
 1130 Mich. 5, 2: *Et tu, Bethleem Ephrata ... ex te mihi egredietur qui sit dominator in*
Israel. 1129-1130 *dilectissimus dominus noster Iesus Christus* = 31. 1130-1131
ecclesia ... prefulgens = 1504, cf. 1592-1593. 1611-1612. 1134 *altare venerandum et*
cavum = 954, cf. 274-275. 1134-1135 *cruciolam ... impressam* = 275-276. 1138-
 1139 = JW 166-167 and *Appendix inscriptionum* (F).

1114 Ennon V, Enion M 1121 quos M, quas V 1134 venerandum
 (= 954) M, reverendum V 1141 ac M, et V

- nitur, in quo non solum iacuit fenum animalium, sed cibus inventus est angelorum. Est autem ipsum presepe marmore candido circumedificatum, habens superne tria foramina rotunda, per que peregrini ipsi presepi optata porrigunt oscula. 1145 Est etiam ipsa cripta musivo opere venerabiliter decorata. Super ipsam autem speluncam capella venerabilis dupliciter testudinata consistit, in qua altare venerandum ad meridiem et versus occidentem sepulchrum Ioseph ab Arimathia in pariete constitutum demonstratur. Non longe autem a presepio domini Christi 1150 sepulchrum beati Ieronimi extat, cuius corpus exinde a Theodosio Minore Constantinopolim translatum esse fertur. Super ipsam quoque ecclesiam stella cuprea bene deaurata hastili infixata refulget, significans tres magos ducatu stelle, sicut in 1155 evangelio legitur, eo advenisse ibique puerum Iesum cum Maria matre eius inventum adorasse. Miliario a Bethleem pastoribus angelus apparuit eosque claritas dei circumfulsit, ubi etiam multitudo militie celestis adveniens *Gloria in excelsis deo* cecinit.
- [34] Exinde ad meridiem iuxta Mare Mortuum vallis est 1160 Ebron, ubi Adam de paradyso propulsus habitasse et sepultus esse fertur. Hec civitas in tribu Iuda sacerdotum fuit ac fugitivorum, que metropolis quondam Philistinorum ac habitaculum gigantum erat, que Cariatharbe olim vocabatur, id est 'Civitas quatuor', eo, quod illi quatuor reverendi patres ibidem in spelunca 1165 duplici fuerunt consepulti, scilicet Adam prothoplastus, Abraham, Ysaac et Iacob tres patriarche et eorum quatuor uxores Eva, Sara, Rebecca atque Lya. Hec civitas antea vocabatur Arbe. In cuius agro, in extrema scilicet parte eius, spelunca

1142-1143 Ps. 77, 25: *panem angelorum*. 1145 *peregrini ... optata porrigunt oscula* = 175. 1146-1147 *venerabiliter ... venerabilis*. 1148 *altare venerandum* = 274-275. 1150-1151 Fr 47, 9-10. 1154-1156 Fr 47, 3-4. 1154-1155 in evangelio] Matth. 2, 1-3. 1155 *puerum Iesum* = 228. 1156-1158 Fr 47, 1-3. 1157-1158 Luc. 2, 9: *et claritas dei circumfulsit illos*, and 13: *multitudo militie caelestis*. 1158 *Gloria ... deo*] Ordo missae: *Gloria*. 1160-1161 *sepultus esse fertur*] Ios. 14, 15. 1161-1163 Fr 7, 2-3. 1161-1162 *civitas ... fugitivorum*] Num. 35, 9-15. 1162-1163 *habitaculum gigantum*] See the note on JW 497-498. 1163-1167 Fr 8, 1-4. 1163 *Cariatharbe*] Ios. 14, 15 and 21, 11. *olim vocabatur ...* 1167-1168 *antea vocabatur*. 1163-1164 *Civitas quatuor*] Thiel, *Grundlagen*, p. 274. 1164-1165 *in spelunca duplici* (= Gen. 23, 19, 25, 9, 49, 29 and 50, 13) ... 1168-1169 *spelunca ... duplex*. 1166-1167 Gen. 49, 31. 1168 *Arbe*] Gen. 23, 2 and 35, 27. *In cuius agro* = 1417.

1150 *domini Christi* (= 233.449.729) V, *Christi om.* M 1152 *Minore* V, *Minori M.* Cf. 1387 et adn. cr. ad 1593 1153 *deaurata M*, *inaurata V* 1155 *eo* (cf. 415) V, *eo loco M* 1158 *militie V, om. M* 1162 *ac M*, *et V* 1167 *Eva V*, *scilicet* (cf. 1168) *Eva M* 1168 *scilicet V, ss. M*

- erat duplex respiciens Mambre, quam pretio emit Abraham ab
 1170 Effron filio Seor Ethei. In agro autem ipsi civitati vicino gleba
 rubea reperitur, que ab incolis effossa comeditur et per Egiptum
 asportatur, de qua terra Adam fuisse fertur plasmatus. Hec
 autem gleba quantum in lato sive in profundo fuerit effossa,
 tantum anno sequenti virtute divina dicitur reintegrari. Iuxta
 1175 eandem civitatem mons Mambre situs est, ad cuius radicem
 quercus existit que 'dirps' a modernis vocatur, sub qua Abraham
 tres angelos vidit et unum adoravit eosdemque hospitio suscepit.
 Hec quercus usque ad tempora Theodosii imperatoris testante
 Ieronimo perduravit, ex cuius trunco sive radice alia surrexit,
 1180 que adhuc, licet ex parte arefacta sit, superstes exstans adeo
 medicabilis existit, ut quilibet equitans quamdiu quicquam ex
 ea manu gestaverit, equus ipsius non infundatur. In Ebron
 Caleph et Iosue primo eorumque socii decem applicuerunt, qui
 ad explorandam promissionis terram a Moyse de Cadesbarne
 1185 missi sunt. Hec civitas postea Davitici regni fuit exordium,
 quippe ex divino mandato septem in ea regnavit annis. [35]
 Secundo ab Ebron miliario sepulchrum fuit Loth nepotis Abrahe.
 Decimo miliario ab Ebron Lacus Asfaltidis versus orientem
 existit, qui et Mare Mortuum quia nichil vivum in se recipit,
 1190 vel Mare Dyaboli, eo, quod ipsius instinctu quatuor ille civitates,
 Sodoma scilicet et Gomorra, Seboim et Adama, in sua turpi-
 tudine perseverantes igne sulphureo celitus concremate et eo-
 dem lacu in locis prefatarum urbium exundante submerse sunt.
 Ipsius vero stagni aqua tetro colore inhorrescit, fetor quoque
 1195 propius accedentes abigit. Annuali autem subversionis earum
 tempore lapides et ligna necnon et aliarum materiarum genera
 in signum perditionis earum ipsi lacui supernatare videntur.

1169-1170 Gen. 50, 13 (23, 17). 1170-1174 Fr 8, 10-14. 1170-1171
 gleba ... reperitur = 56. 1174-1185 Fr 9, 1-11. 1176 dirps] See the note on
 JW 521-522. 1177 unum adoravit] See the note on JW 518-519. 1178-
 1179 usque ad tempora ... perduravit = 673. testante Ieronimo] See the note on
 JW 521-522. 1180 adhuc ... superstes = 1457. 1182 non infundatur = JW 526
 (note). 1182-1185 Num. 13, 2-17 and 32, 8. 1183-1185 primo ... postea =
 616-617. 1185-1186 Fr 9, 13 (2 Reg. 2, 1-11 and 5, 5). 1187 Fr 8, 9.
 1188-1193 Fr 10, 1-5. 1190-1191 Deut. 29, 23: in exemplum subversionis
 Sodomae et Gomorrhæ, Adamae et Seboim ... 1192-1193 Gen. 19, 24-25.

1170 Effron V, Effren M Scor] Sator (*deletum*) Scor V, Sator san M
 1172 fuisse fertur M (fuisse traditur *Fretellus* 8, 12), fertur fuisse V 1174
 redintegrari VM *sed d. eras*. M (*cf.* 1203) 1180-1181 exstans ... existit V, existens
 ... existit M 1184 explorandam V, explorandum M 1189 nichil vivum
 (= JW 530 et *Fretellus* 10, 2) *edd.*, nilus illum VM 1191 *pr.* et V, *om.* M
 Adama M, Adima V 1195 abigit] abicit VM 1197 subnatare VM,
corr. Tobler

Iuxta ipsum quoque lacum civitas est Segor, que et Bala ac Cara dicitur, que precibus Loth de subversione liberata nunc
 1200 usque permanet. In cuius exitu uxor Loth post tergum respiciens in statuam salis versa est, que hactenus perseverans sicut luna decrescente continue diminuitur, ita secundum eius incrementum semper reintegratur, ad dorsum faciem habens conversam. Idem quoque lacus bitumen gignit quod 'Iudaicum' appellatur,
 1205 multis incantantibus profuturum. Circa ipsius nichilominus ripas alumen repperitur, quod Sarraceni *catrannium* vocant. Preterea super ipsum lacum in descensu Arabie Carnaim civitas in monte Moabitarum sita est, super quem Balac filius Beor rex Moabitarum statuit Balaam divinatorem ad maledicendum filiis
 1210 Israel, qui propter vehemens pruruptum 'Excisus' vocatur. Idem vero lacus Iudeam dividit et Arabiam.

[36] Decimo miliario ab Ebron versus septentrionem supra Mare Magnum sita est Gaza, que nunc vocatur Gazara, in qua Samson multas fecit virtutes, cuius etiam portas nocte tulit.
 1215 Miliario octavo a Gaza munitissima civitas Ascalon supra Mare Magnum sita est. Hee civitates in Palestina, terra scilicet Philistinorum, site fuerunt. Supra litus eiusdem Magni Maris Ioppen sita est, in qua Petrus apostolus Tabitam suscitavit, quam moderni vocant Iafis. Ibi vicina est Arimathia, unde fuit Ioseph
 1220 nobilis decurio qui Christum sepelivit. Ibi etiam campus, in terra scilicet Iuda, unde ab angelo raptus est Abacuc propheta quando intriverat panes in alveolo et ibat in campum ut ferret messoribus, et ductus est in Babilonem ut ferret prandium Danieli in lacu leonum incluso.

1198-1199 Fr 11, 3-4 (Gen. 14, 8: *rex Balaë, quae est Segor*, see the note on JW 535 (Zara)). 1199-1200 Fr 11, 7-8 (Gen. 19, 18-23). 1200-1201 Fr 11, 8-9 (Gen. 19, 26). 1204-1206 Fr 11, 9-11. 1205 incantantibus] For use in magic, cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 8, 82, or Horace, *Epod.* 5, 81-82. 1207-1210 Fr 21, 3-4 (see the note on JW 543-545). 1207 Carnaim] 1 Macc. 5, 26 and 43-44. 1210 Fr 21, 8-9 (*Abicisus*). 1210-1211 Fr 11, 12-13. 1212 versus septentrionem] See the introduction, p. 24 (and line 1578). 1212-1213 *supra ... sita est* = 1215-1216. 1214 Iud. 16, 3. 1215 (= 1343 and 1622) Ios. 19, 29 (35): *civitatem munitissimam*. Cf. 1298. 1215-1216 *supra ... sita est* = 1212-1213. 1218 Act. 9, 36-43. 1219-1220 Matth. 27, 57-60; Luc. 23, 50-53; Ioh. 19, 38-42. 1221-1223 Dan. 14, 32: *Habacuc propheta ... intriverat panes in alveolo et ibat in campum ut ferret messoribus*. 1223-1224 *Ibidem*, 33-38.

1198 ac M, et V 1199 liberata V, om. M 1204 bitumen V, butymen M 1205 incantantibus *optime* M, necessitatibus (cf. 1251: V) V, navigantibus *edd.* (multis necessarium JW 541, in quibusdam necessarium *Fretellus* 11, 11) 1206 *catrannium* V, *catrancium* M 1212 versus occidentem *corr.* Tobler 1216 in Palestina terra V, in terra Palestina M 1217 Ioppen e *correctura* V 1219 Iafis *coll.* 1620] Iasis V, Iases M

- 1225 [37] Exeuntibus de sancta civitate versus occidentem per
portam Turri David contiguam ad dexteram iter est ad quan-
dam capellam, in quam cum per gradus fere centum ad pro-
fundissimum et subterraneum specum fuerit descensum
1230 illuc devenisse feruntur. Omnes qui in uno anno Iherosolimam
causa orandi venerunt peregrini civitatem Sarracenis plenam
reppererunt et propterea intrare non valentes, nec recedere
volentes, eos in civitate obsederunt, sed nec arma nec escas ad
tam arduam rem explendam sufficienter habentes defectu ne-
1235 cessariorum vehementer artari ceperunt, et cum in defectu
existerent, videntes Sarraceni eos sibi non posse resistere, de
civitate in eos facta eruptione omnes gladio interemerunt. As-
cendente autem de tot hominum corporibus fetore omnia de-
creverunt ignibus exurere, ipsa autem nocte missus a deo affuit
1240 leo, qui omnia illa corpora in illum specum, os angustum
habentem, proiecit. Illorum autem nulla parva quolibet parti-
cula trans mare potest deferri quin et, si carinis fuerit illata,
naves sua sponte redire ferantur. [38] Sequitur ultra quendam
montem vallis fertilissima et amena, in qua sita est ecclesia
1245 nobilis in honore domini nostri Iesu Christi eiusque dilecte
genitricis, ubi in cavo altari locus ille venerabiliter colitur, in
quo truncus ille stetit, de quo crux est precisa, in qua Salvator
pro nostra salute pendit. Huic ecclesie presunt Suriani; que
turribus, muris, propugnaculis adversus gentilium insidias for-
1250 titer extat munita, etiam domibus, tricliniis, cenaculis et habi-
taculis, omnibus prorsus utilitatibus aptis et in altum culmen
per maceriam sublevatis, decoratur. Hanc arborem rex Salomon

1225-1241 Fr 68, 1-4. 1225-1226 per portam Turri David contiguam = 1113-1114. 1227-1228 in quam cum ... fuerit descensum = 980-981. 1228 subterraneum specum] Carnarium leonis JW 697. 1231 causa orandi = 301-302. 1233 arma ... escas cf. 1051-1052. 1234 defectu ... 1235 defectu. 1239 ignibus exurere = 417-418. 1244-1245 ecclesia nobilis in honore ... Christi cf. 1486-1487. 1246 cavo altari = 274-275. venerabiliter colitur cf. 1593. 1246-1247 Fr 64, 11-12. 1248 pro nostra salute = 490. Huic ecclesie presunt Suriani cf. 319-320. 1249-1250 turribus ... munita cf. 87-88 (adversus gentilium insidias = 104-105). 1251 omnibus ... utilitatibus aptis = 696. 1251-1252 in altum ... per maceriam sublevatis cf. 97-98.

1226 Turri V, muri M 1230 illuc V, illac M 1232 reppererunt V, reperierunt M 1237 interemerunt V, interimerunt M 1238 omnia V, eciam M 1239 affuit e fuit corr. M 1241 nulla V et e correctione ss. M 1242 fuerint VM 1243 sua correxit Tobler, sine/sive VM ferantur ut videtur V, feruntur M 1247 precisa e correctura M 1249 muris V, et add. M, cf. 16 1250 extat V, extitit M 1251 ante utilitatibus deletum est necessitatibus (cf. 1205) V

fertur precipuisse et in condigno loco usque ad Salvatoris ad-
 ventum, figura crucis ei imposita, reposuisse, previdens utique
 1255 in spiritu salutem mundo per Christi mortem affuturam esse.
 Exinde ad Sanctum Iohannem sive ad locum qui appellatur
 'Silvestris' transitur, ubi pater eius Zacharias et mater Elysabeth
 manserunt et ubi ipse sanctus Iohannes natus est, ubi etiam
 sancta Maria post acceptam ab angelo in Nazareth salutationem
 1260 adveniens ipsam sanctam Elysabeth salutavit. Huic loco vicini
 sunt montes Modin, in quibus sedit Mathathias cum filiis suis
 quando Antiochus expugnabat civitatem et filios Israel. Ista
 montana a modernis Belmont appellantur. Hiis montibus adiacet
 castellum Emaus, quod moderni Fontenoid vocant, ubi
 1265 dominus ipsa resurrectionis sue die duobus discipulis apparuit.
 Hic iuxta montana Efraim, qui vocantur Sophim, existunt, et
 mox Ramatha civitas grandis, que nunc Rames vocatur, de qua
 Helchana pater Samuelis prophete et Anna mater ipsius fuerunt.
 Iuxta Sophim Betheron, que nunc Beter vocatur. Inde ad dex-
 1270 tram eiusdem plage, id est occidentalis, duobus a sancta civitate
 miliariis in montem Sylo ascenditur, a quo in subiectas valles
 aque dulcium fontium derivantur. Ibi archa testamenti domini
 mansit ab introitu filiorum Israel in terram repromissionis usque
 ad tempora Hely sacerdotis, cuius tempore ipsa archa peccatis
 1275 Hebreorum exigentibus a Philisteis capta est et tam diu ab eis
 retenta, donec celesti verbere tacti eandem archam plastro
 impositam usque Bethsamis post septem captionis eius menses
 reduxerunt inviti; ubi ira dei tam in sacerdotes quam in popu-
 lum propter eiusdem arche retentionem atrociter deserviente,
 1280 advenientes habitatores Cariathiarim, id est Gabaa, deduxerunt
 eam de Bethsamis et apud se reposuerunt. Quam postea David
 rex et omnis Israel a Gabaa cum ymnis et laudibus deduxerunt

1256-1260 Fr 68, 9-12. 1258-1260 Luc. 1, 39-42. 1261 Fr 69, 2 (1
 Macc. 2, 1). 1264-1265 Fr 65, 6-8 (Luc. 24, 13ff.). 1266-1268 Fr 69, 9-
 10. 1266-1267 Cf. 1 Reg. 1, 1: *Fuit vir unus de Ramathaim Sophim de monte*
Ephraim ... 1266 montana ... qui] See the introduction, note 13. 1267 *que*
nunc ... vocatur ... 1269 *que nunc ... vocatur.* 1267-1268 1 Reg. 1, 1-20. 1269
 Fr 70, 1 (Ios. 10, 10). 1270-1271 *duobus ... miliariis* = 1329. 1272-1273
 and 1281-1283 Fr 45, 9-11. 1272-1286 1 Reg. 4, 11 - 7, 2; 2 Reg. 6, 12-
 17; 3 Reg. 8, 1-8. 1274-1278 Fr 69, 11-13. 1280 *deduxerunt ...* 1282
deduxerunt. 1281-1283 See 1272-1273 (Fr).

1253 precipuisse (cf. 1247) M, prescidisse V 1255 affuturam M, affuturum
 V 1256 Exinde M, Exin V 1263 a V, in M 1265 ipsa (= 309) M,
 ipso V 1266 Hic ex Hec corr. M qui VM, cf. adn. 1267 qua] que VM,
 corr. M 1270 sancta (= 1329) M, om. V 1276 eandem M, eandam V
 1279 retentionem (cf. 1276) V, detentionem M

- et in civitatem David, id est in Montem Syon, locaverunt. Post
 hec cum Salomon rex templum domini, ut supradictum est, in
 1285 monte Moria, ubi area fuit Areuna Iebusei, edificasset, ipsam
 archam in templo collocavit. In Sylo quoque Samuel propheta
 fuit sepultus, unde mutato nomine pristino idem locus Ad
 Sanctum Samuelem appellatur, ubi etiam congregatio monastice
 professionis, qui 'Grisi' appellantur, existit. [39] Sexto deinde
 1290 versus occidentem a Sylo miliario in campestribus sita est
 Lidda, ubi sepultus fuit, ut fertur, sanctus martir Georgius, unde
 idem locus mutato nomine antiquo Ad Sanctum Georgium a
 modernis appellatur. Abhinc iocunda et amena planitie, inter
 montana et maritima loca, campestria per viam que ducit
 1295 Achon, id est Ptolomaidam, distenduntur, in quibus plurime
 civitates et ville tam antike quam nove visuntur, inter quas
 Caphargamala, Capharsemala, castellum a modernis Cacho no-
 minatum, in fertilissima terra situm, civitas munita nunc Ce-
 sarea Palestine, olim Turris Stratonis nuncupata, montana
 1300 Cayphas, cui opidum eiusdem nominis admodum dirutum adiacet,
 in quo triginta illi denarii, qui a Iudeis pro pretio sanguinis
 Christi Iude traditori dati sunt, facti esse referuntur. In cuius
 etiam summo cacumine Templariorum extat castrum, quod
 procul navigantibus continentem facit esse cognoscibilem. [40]
 1305 Deinde supra litus maris e regione Accaron in pingui gleba
 castellum ingens eiusdem nominis situm quod vocatur 'Novum',
 iuxta quod lucus palmarum non mediocris existit, et mox ultra
 tria miliaria ipsa Ptolomaida civitas grandis, locuples et po-
 pulosa. Portus autem Ptolomaidis sive navium statio difficilem
 1310 et periculosum plerumque habet accessum, dum spirante aus-
 trali vento littoris ipsius latera, undarum ingentibus cumulis
 vehementer sese collidentibus, frequenti allisione quatuntur,

1284 supradictum] 724-725. 1285 See 724-725 (Fr). 1286-1287 1 Reg.
 25, 1: *Mortuus est autem Samuel ... et sepelierunt eum in domo sua in Ramatha.* 1287
mutato nomine pristino = 1292. 1288-1289 *appellatur ... appellantur. congregatio*
monastice professionis (= 1487) ... *Gristi*: Premonstratensians, cf. H.E. Mayer, *Bistümer,*
Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem, 1977, p. 113. 1290 *in campestribus sita* =
 1109. 1291 Fr 69, 4-6. 1292 *mutato nomine antiquo* = 1287. 1294 *maritima*
loca = 1570, *campestria* = 1109.1290.1420. 1298 (= 1532) Is. 27, 10: *civitas ...*
munita. Cf. 1215. 1298-1299 Fr 74, 12-13. 1300-1301 *cui ... adiacet* Cf.
 1617. *eiusdem nominis* = 1306. 1301-1302 Matth. 26, 15. 1302-1303 *In*
cuius ... summo cacumine = 967-968. 1305 *supra litus maris* = 1316. 1306
eiusdem nominis = 1300. 1307 *non mediocris* = 278. 1308-1309 *civitas grandis,*
locuples et populosa = 1579-1580. 1309-1312 Cf. 1606.

1285 area] arc(h)a VM 1291 fuit ut fertur V, ut (ss.) fertur fuit M 1294
 montana M, montane V 1296 visuntur (= existunt, cernuntur, cf. 1326.1328.1405)
 V, sunt situate M 1311 littoris M, lictoris V 1312 allisione M, allicione
 V

nam ubi nullius montis obiectu fervor maris comprimitur, ultra
 iactum lapidis super continentem unde ipsius decurrentes effer-
 1315 vescunt. In hac ipsa civitate domum ingentis et mirabilis fabrice
 supra litus maris Templarii constituerunt, similiter et Hospitarii
 in eadem urbe domum magnifici operis condiderunt. Ceterum
 ubicumque peregrinorum naves applicuerint, in portu istius
 civitatis omnes post reditus ipsorum de Iherosolima ad eos
 1320 reducendos oportet adesse. Denique ipso quo ibi fuimus anno
 in quarta Paschalis ebdomade die triginta naves in portu stantes
 numeravimus, preter navem 'buza' appellatam, qua nos in eundo
 et redeundo usi sumus.

In hac etiam via, que de Ierosolimis per predicta loca usque
 1325 Ptolomaidam dirigitur, plurime urbes et castella deserta, que a
 Vespasiano et Tyto quondam subversa fuerunt, cernuntur, sed
 et castella validissime munita, que Templariorum et Hospita-
 riorum dicioni subiacent, pervidentur.

[41] Duobus a sancta civitate miliariis ad aquilonalem plagam
 1330 ecclesiola quedam existit, ubi ad primum ipsius civitatis intui-
 tum peregrini magno gaudio exhilarati cruces ponere solent, ubi
 etiam sese discalciantes humiliter illum student querere, qui
 pro ipsis pauper et humilis illuc dignatus est venire. Tertio
 abhinc miliario vicus grandis est a modernis Mala Humeria
 1335 nuncupatus, ubi iuxta ecclesiam in honore sancte Marie conse-
 cratam magna crux de lapide incisa ac VII gradibus elata
 consistit, quos ascendentes peregrini Turrim David, in arce
 Montis Syon ut predictum est constitutam, ultra quatuor mili-
 liaria non sine gemitibus contemplantur. Huius vici antiquum
 1340 vocabulum menti excidit. Abhinc octavo miliario iterum alius
 vicus grandis in magna montis altitudine consistit, a quo cum
 precipiti itinere fuerit descensum, per spaciosam ac speciosam

1314 *iactum lapidis* = 894-895. *unde* = *undae*! 1316 *supra litus maris* =
 1305. 1321 *triginta*] See the introduction, p. 12. 1322-1323 *in eundo et*
redeundo = 1016. 1328 *dicioni subiacent* = 1085. 1329 *Duobus ... miliariis* =
 1270-1271. 1334 *vicus grandis* = 1341 and 1615. *Mala Humeria* = JW 301:
Maiores (or Magna) Mabumeria. 1338 *predictum*] 110-111. 1339 *non sine ...* cf.
 1348 and 1349-1350. 1341 *vicus grandis* = 1334. *in ... montis altitudine* = 87-
 88. 1341-1342 *a quo cum ... fuerit descensum* = 980-981.

1315 *mirabilis* M, *admirabilis* V. Cf. *mirabiliter* (330-331), *mirandi* (690),
mire (420.707), *mirifice* (-co) (139.173.240.250) 1318 *arripuerint* VM, *corr.*
Bulst 1320 *ante oportet deletum est verbum unum* V 1323 *sumus* V, *fuimus*
 (= 1320) M 1324 (de) *Ierosolimis* (= 762) M, *Ierosolima* (= 1319) V
 1331 *exhilarati* V, *exhilarati* M 1334 *Mala Humeria sic* VM 1336
incisa (= *incisa*) = 519. ac M, et V

- planitiem et per quedam montana ad munitissimam civitatem
 (pervenitur), que antiquitus Sichem sive Sichar, nunc vero
 1345 Neapolis, id est 'Nova civitas', dicitur. Per hanc viam nobis
 transeuntibus multitudo Sarracenorum occurrit, qui omnes cum
 bubus et asinis incedentes magnum amenitatis campum sunt
 aggressi proscindere, qui clamore horrissono, more eis non insolito
 cum operis quippiam adoriuntur, intonantes terrorem non mo-
 1350 dicum nobis intulerunt. Plurimi quippe ibi paganorum passim
 tam in urbibus quam in castellis necnon et in vicis eiusdem
 provincie commanentes sub regis Ierosolimitani vel Templario-
 rum seu Hospitiorum condicione terram colere consueverunt.
 1355 [42] Prefata vero civitas Neapolis in Samaria sita est, fontibus
 et rivis exuberans, vinetis et olivetis et cuncti generis arboribus
 habundans, agrorum fertili cultura præcellens. In hanc veniens
 dominus Iesus fatigatus ex itinere sedebat super fontem, ubi
 etiam cum muliere Samaritana loquebatur. Puteus autem, super
 quem dominus sedit, spatio dimidii miliaris distat a civitate,
 1360 ante altare in ecclesia super eum exstructa situs, in qua sanc-
 timoniales deo deserviunt. Hic puteus Fons Iacob appellatur, in
 predio quod dedit Ioseph filio suo situs. Hanc civitatem olim
 filii Iacob deleverunt interfecto Sichem principe eius, filio Hemor
 Ethei, eo, quod Dynam sororem eorum violasset. Hec inter Dan
 1365 et Bethel posita est, in qua Ieroboam rex Israel duos vitulos
 aureos fabricavit, quorum unum in Dan, alterum in Bethel
 posuit. Iuxta Sichem duo sunt montes, unus in quo Cain de

1343 *munitissimam civitatem* = 1215. 1344-1345 Fr 43, 9-11. 1346-1347
 Gen. 47, 17: *pro ... bobus (bubus) et asinis*. 1347 Although *amenitatis* as it stands
 may well be the original genitive of 'quality', *magnum* could equally well be a
 corruption of *magne* or even of *magnum magne*. 1348 *non insolito ...* 1349-1350
non modicum (= 886). Cf. 1339. 1353 *condicione* = *servili condicione* (H.E.
 Mayer). Cf. 1327-1328. 1355 *vinetis et olivetis* = 57-58. 1356-1362 Fr 43,
 11-14, but see the introduction, p. 281. 1356-1358 Ioh. 4, 4-6 and 7ff. (4,
 6: *Iesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic supra fontem*). 1359 *spatio dimidii miliaris*
 = 1116. 1360 *situs ...* 1362 *situs*. 1361 *deo deserviunt* = 497-498. 1362
 Ioh. 4, 5: ... *civitatem Samariae quae dicitur Sichar* (1344), *iuxta praedium quod dedit*
Iacob Ioseph filio suo. 1362-1364 Fr 43, 8-9 (Gen. 34, 1-29). 1364-1367 Fr
 43, 5-8 (3 Reg. 12, 26-29). 1367-1368 Deut. 33, 16 (Ios. 5, 11 and 12): *de*
frugibus terrae (Gen. 4, 3: *factum est ... ut offerret Cain de fructibus terrae munera*
domino).

1344 *pervenitur (uti passim) correxi, venit* *edd.* que/que V 1347
amenitatis] V. *adn.* 1348 *proscindere*] *pro cindere* VM 1349 *quippiam* V,
quispiam M 1350 *passim* V, *pessimi* M 1356-1357 *veniens dominus Iesus*
V, dominus Iesus veniens M 1357 *fontem V, puteum (= 1358) M* 1360
eum] s(cilicet) *puteum ss. M* situs] s(cilicet) *puteus ss. M* 1363 *Sichem V,*
Cychen M filio] filii VM

frugibus terre munera deo fertur optulisse, ariditate squalens, alter in quo similiter Abel munera de gregibus suis adipibus
 1370 deo optulisse dicitur, arborum et omnium fructuum ubertate precellens. In Sichem relata sunt ossa Ioseph ex Egypto, iuxta quam illa terebintus est, sub qua mater eius Rachel ydola, que Laban patri suo furata fuerat, abscondit. Inde versus orientem miliario distat Bethel, que prius Luza vocabatur, ubi immolatio
 1375 Ysaac a patre suo Abraham facta est et ubi etiam Iacob, capiti suo lapide supposito obdormiens, scalam ad celos subrectam et angelos dei ascendentes et descendentes per eam et ipsum dominum eidem scale innixum vidit. Ubi iuxta mons Garizim ex adverso monti Gebal oppositus cernitur, de quibus Moyses
 1380 benedicere et maledicere secundum quod mererentur instituit. [43] Sexto dehinc miliario Samaria, que et Sebasten, a modernis vero Ad Sanctum Iohannem appellata, in monte non quidem alto sed firmo consistit, a qua ipsa provincia Samaria vocabulum sumpsit, cuius ruine magne civitatis speciem demonstrant, que
 1385 etiam ipsa tam agrorum quam vinearum et omnium fructuum ubertate precellit. In hoc loco discipuli beati Iohannis, baptiste magistri, corpus, cum ab Herode Iuniore in castello Macherunta pro pretio saltatricis esset decollatus, terre dederunt, quod postea a Iuliano apostata combustum esse fertur. Caput vero
 1390 ipsius Alexandrie primo delatum, postea ad insulam nomine Rodos est translatum, quod postea a Theodosio imperatore Constantinopolim est perlatum. Ipsius etiam particula brachii ibi in magna veneratione habetur. Sepultus autem fuit in cripta inter Helyseum et Abdiam prophetas in spelunca, in qua idem

1368 fertur optulisse ... 1370 optulisse dicitur. 1369-1370 Gen. 4, 4: Abel ... obtulit de primogenitis gregis sui et de adipibus eorum. 1370-1371 omnium fructuum ubertate precellens = 1385-1386. 1371 Fr 43, 4-5 (Ios. 24, 32). 1371-1373 Fr 43, 14 (Gen. 31, 19 and 35, 4). 1373-1374 Fr 45, 6 (Gen. 28, 19). 1374-1375 Fr 45, 6-7 (Gen. 22, 1-14). 1375-1378 = 605-609 (Fr 45, 2-4; Gen. 28, 10-19). 1378-1380 Fr 44, 1-6. 1378-1379 mons ... cernitur = 1405. 1379-1380 Deut. 11, 29 and 27, 12-13. 1381 Fr 42, 1. 1382-1383 non ... alto sed firmo cf. 860. 1383-1384 a qua ... vocabulum sumpsit = 76-77. 1384 magne civitatis (speciem), not ruine magne! 1385 tam agrorum quam vinearum = 480. 1385-1386 omnium fructuum ubertate precellit = 1370-1371. 1386-1394 Fr 42, 2-8. 1387 magistri] Cf. 636. Herode Iuniore] See the note on line 790. 1387-1388 Matth. 14, 6-12; Marc. 6, 21-29. 1388 terre dederunt cf. 153. 1392 Constantinopolim ... perlatum = 825. 1393 in magna veneratione habetur = 778-779.

1370 fertur dicitur VM, fertur (= 1368) del. V 1371 ante precellens deletum est pollens V relata V(Fr), delata M 1374 Luza V, Laza M 1376 subrectam et V, erectam M 1387 Macherunta V, Macheranta M 1388 saltatricis (cf. Eccli. 9, 4 et Matth. 14, 6) V, puelle (cf. Matth. 14, 11) add. M

- 1395 propheta septuaginta prophetas olim pavit, qui et ibidem sepulti sunt, ad quam gradibus XXXV intratur. [44] Abhinc miliario decimo Geminum opidum existit, a quo Samaria initium sumit. Quinto a Gemino miliario exstat Iezrael, que nunc Ad Cursum Gallina<ru>m nuncupatur, unde fuit Naboth, quem pro vinea
- 1400 sua Iezabel impiissima lapidari fecit, quam postea Iheu ibidem pedibus equorum conculcari fecit. Iuxta Iezrael campus est Mageddo, in quo rex Iuda Ozias a rege Samarie subactus occubuit. Huius civitatis adhuc ruine plurime apparent, sed et pyramis nomini ipsius Iezabelis attitulata. Miliario a Iezrael
- 1405 montes Gelboe ad orientem cernuntur, secundo quoque miliario ab ea civitas olim Bethsan, id est 'Domus dei', nunc Scitopolis appellata consistit. In cuius muro caput Saulis ac capita filiorum eius allophili, cum eos in bello occidissent, suspendisse leguntur. Est autem Iezrahel Galilee terminus contra orientem, cuius
- 1410 metropolis hec civitas existit. In cuius vicino monte precelso Hospitalarii fortissimum et amplissimum castrum constituerunt, ut adversus Noradini Halapiensis tyranni insidias terram citra Iordanem sitam possint tueri. Est et ibi iuxta ad occidentem quoddam castrum Templariorum vocabulo Sapham, adversus
- 1415 Turcorum incursiones valde munitum. Abhinc versus Mare Magnum mons Hermon, in cuius occidentali radice Templarii castrum non mediocre fecerunt, in cuius agro cisternam grandem, rotalem machinam ad deducendam aquam habentem, constituerunt.
- 1420 [45] Hinc amenissima et fertilissima occurrunt campestria, in quorum termino versus aquilonis tractum Tyberiadis civitas

1395 septuaginta] 3 Reg. 18, 4: *tulit ille (Abdias) centum prophetas et abscondit eos quinquagenos et quinquagenos in speluncis et pavit eos pane et aqua.* 1396-1397 Fr 41, 4. 1397 *initium sumit* = 1462. 1398-1404 Fr 40, 1-5. 1399-1401 3 Reg. 21, 1-14 and 4 Reg. 9, 30-37. 1401-1403 See the note on JW 95-97. 1404-1405 Fr 40, 7. 1405 *montes ... cernuntur* = 1378-1379. 1405-1408 Fr 40, 11-13. 1408 *allophili*: Ps. 55, 1 (not in Fretellus); 1 Reg. 31, 8-10. 1412 *adversus ... insidias* = 104-105. 1414-1415 *adversus Turcorum incursiones* = 104-105. 1415-1416 cf. Fr 39, 3. 1417 *non mediocre* = 278. *in cuius agro* = 1168.

1395 olim ibidem ... ibidem VM, *pr.* ibidem (*cf.* 1394: in qua) del. M 1398 Geminio M, Geminio V 1399 Gallinarum *corr.* Tobler, Gallinam VM, Bulst 1400 impiissima (V): *regina addit cum Fretello* (40, 2 = JW 92) *sed expunxit* M. *Cf.* 2 Paral. 24, 7: Athalia ... impiissima (*omisso* regina) ibidem *hoc loco* V, *post* 1401 equorum M 1401 Iezrael (= 1398) M, Gezrael V 1402 Mageddo V, Magaddo (*pr.* a *e* *correctura*) M 1406 Bethsan ... Scitopolis] Bersan ... Senopolis VM 1407 ac M, et V 1410 vicino V, vicino M 1418 deducendam (*cf.* 1522-1523) V, deducendum M

- supra Mare Galilee sita est, ubi de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus quinque milia hominum dominus satiavit: inde locus idem 'Mensa' vocatur et sportarum adhuc ibi signa videntur.
- 1425 Huic et locus ille vicinus est, in quo post resurrectionem suam dominus discipulis apparens partem piscis assi et favum mellis coram eis comedit. Hoc est illud Mare Galilee, supra quod dominus ambulans circa vigiliam quartam noctis ad discipulos venit, ubi et Petri super undas maris ambulantis et iam mergentis manum apprehendens *modice*, inquit, *fidei, quare dubitasti?* Ubi etiam alia vice discipulis periculum patientibus mare quietum reddidit. Iuxta idem mare, non longe a Tyberiae, mons ille est, in quem videns turbas ascendit et in quo sepius sedens et ad discipulos ac turbas in ipso monte sermocinari solebat, ubi etiam leprosum curare dignatus est. Ad radicem Libani montis, qui est terminus Iudae contra septentrionem, Pania civitas sita est, que postea a Philippo tetrarcha Ituree et Traconitidis regionis renovata Cesarea Philippi appellata est, in memoriam videlicet sui nominis pariterque honorem Tyberii
- 1440 Cesaris, sub quo ipse regnabat. Hec a modernis Belina appellatur, quam anno incarnationis domini nostri Iesu Christi millesimo centesimo LXIII^o pagani Christianis eripientes sua in ea presidia locaverunt. In hac bini fontes, Ior videlicet et Dan, simul oriuntur, qui separatim usque ad montes Gelboe (fluentes)
- 1445 Iordanem efficiunt. Iordanis, ut in anterioribus dictum est, a montibus Gelboe usque ad Lacum Asfaltidis per Vallem que appellatur Campestris sive Grandis dilabitur, continuis montibus ex utraque parte vallatus a Libano usque desertum Pharan. Dividit autem cursus ipsius Galileam et Ydumeam et terram

1422-1432 Fr 35, 4-12. 1422-1423 Matth. 14, 16-21 and Marc. 6, 37-44. 1424 *sportarum*: Matth. 15, 37 and Marc. 8, 8. 1425-1427 Luc. 24, 36-43. 1427-1431 Matth. 14, 24-31. 1431-1432 Matth. 8, 23-27 (Marc. 4, 36-40). 1432-1435 Fr 35, 1-3 (Matth. 5, 1-7, 29). 1435 Matth. 8, 1-3; Marc. 1, 40-42; Luc. 5, 12-13. 1435-1440 Fr 31, 1-2. 1438 Matth. 16, 13; Marc. 8, 27. 1441-1442 On the date of 1164 (instead of 1171) see the critical apparatus, and the introduction, p. 26. 1443-1445 Fr 31, 3-4. 1445-1448 Fr 32, 1-4. 1445 *ut in anterioribus* (cf. 1017-1019) *dictum est* = 875. 1446-1447 Cf. 1077 and JW 626-627. 1447-1448 *continuis ... vallatus* cf. 1474-1475. 1448 desertum Pharan] Gen. 21, 21 (etc.). 1449-1450 Fr 32, 8-9.

1427 Hoc V, Hic M 1429 undas M, undis V 1431 *ante mare deletum est* que vel qui M 1433 videns V, dominus *add. M. Cf. app. cr. ad 1599* 1434 et ad ... ac M, et ad ... et ad V 1437 Pania *correxī coll. 1461, Pameas edd., paries VM* 1442 LXIII^o *correxī*, LXXI^o V, LXX^o primo M, *cf. adn.* 1444 *fluentes correxi, cf. JW 450* 1445 in V, ss. M

- 1450 Bosra, que secunda a Damasco Ydumeorum metropolis existit. Dan ab ortu suo subterraneum ducit gurgitem usque ad planitiem vocabulo Medan, ubi satis patenter alveum suum ostendit; ad quam planitiem populus innumerabilis, secum omnia deferens venalia, estate intrante convenit simulque ingens multitudo Parthorum ac Arabum ad tuendum populum et greges, qui per totam estatem in illis locis demorantur. Ex ipsa planitie Dan Suetam peragrat, in qua piramis beati Iob adhuc superstes ab incolis venerabilis habetur. Deinde quoque contra Galileam gentium ad urbem Cedar defluens et plana Spineti, ubi medicabilia loca existunt, preterfluens Ior copulatur. Ior autem a Pania de lacu defluit et per Mare Galilee transitu facto aliud inter Bethsaidam et Capharnaum initium sumit. [46] Hec est Bethsaida unde Petrus et Andreas, Iohannes et Iacobus Alpei fuerunt. Quarto a Bethsaida miliario Corozaim, unde Antichristus creditur nasciturus, pro eo, quod dominus eis exprobravit dicens: *ve tibi Corozaim, ve tibi Bethsaida*. Quinto a Corozaim miliario Cedar civitas excellens habetur, de qua propheta in psalmo: *inhabitavi cum habitantibus Cedar*. Capharnaum quoque in dextro eiusdem maris latere sita est civitas centurionis, cuius
- 1470 filium dominus a morte suscitavit. Quarto a Tyberiae miliario Betulia civitas sita est, ex qua fuit Iudith, que Holofernem peremit. Quarto miliario a Tyberiae contra meridiem Dothaim, ubi Ioseph fratres suos invenit. In sinistro latere eiusdem maris sub cavo cuiusdam montis Genesareth Lacus erumpit, qui undique montibus vallatur, qui nullius venti impulsione sed proprii spiraminis emissionem auram sibimetipsi fertur generare. Miliario secundo a Genesareth Magdalum opidum, unde fuit Maria Mag-

1451-1456 Fr 33, 1-8. 1456-1458 Fr 33, 10-11. 1457 *piramis* (*pyramis* M) is explained by the following gloss in the lower margin of M, f. 115^v: *A pyr, quod etiam ignis grece, hec pyramis pyramidis, quedam alta structura que fiebat antiquitus super sepulchra mortuorum etc. Nam apud maiores potentes aut sub montibus aut in montibus sepeliebantur: inde tractum est ut supra cadavera aut pyramides aut ingentes columpne collocarentur. Hec de Catholicon [Iohannis (Balbi) de Ianua] super dictione (sic) pyr. adhuc superstes = 1180. 1458-1464 Fr 33, 16-20. 1458-1459 Galilea gentium] See 1478ff.*

1462 *initium sumit* = 1397. 1462-1464 See the note on JW 647-648.

1464-1468 Fr 34, 1-5. 1466 Matth. 11, 21 (Luc. 10, 13). 1468 Ps. 119, 5. 1468-1470 Fr 34, 7-8. 1469-1470 Matth. 8, 5-10; Luc. 7, 1-10.

1470-1472 Fr 36, 10-12 (Iudith 13, 1-10 and 16, 25 and 28). 1472-1473 Fr 36, 14-15 (Gen. 37, 17). 1473-1483 Fr 36, 1-7. 1474-1475 *undique montibus vallatur* cf. 1447-1448. 1475-1476 See the note on JW 674.

1454 *convenit e convehit, ut videtur, corr.* M 1455 *ac* (cf. 372-373) M, et V 1461 *de V, om.* M 1463 Iohannes et Iacobus V, Iacobus et Iohannes M 1477 Maria M(Fr), *om.* V. Cf. JW 675-676

dalena. Hec autem provincia Galilea gentium vocatur, in tribu Zabulon et Neptalim constituta. In superioribus huius Galilee
 1480 partibus viginti ille civitates site sunt, quas Salomon rex Hiram regi Tyrriorum dono dedisse Regum narrat Hystoria. Secundo a Magdalo miliario Cinereth, que et Tyberiadis appellatur, sita est, de qua supradictum est. Quinto a Tyberiae miliario contra occidentem mons Thabor existit, altitudine prestans, in quo
 1485 dominus noster Iesus Christus coram tribus discipulis suis transfiguratus est. In hoc monte nobilis ecclesia in honore ipsius Salvatoris est constructa, in qua monastice professionis viri sub abbatis imperio deo deserviunt; in hac quoque primitus misse officium fertur celebratum. In huius montis descensu Melchisedech sacerdos dei altissimi et rex Salem Abrahe a cede Amalech revertenti obviam venit, proferens panem et vinum. Secundo miliario a Thabor Naim civitas est, ad cuius portam dominus filium vidue a morte resuscitatum restituit; supra Naim mons Endor situs est, ad cuius radices supra torrentem Cadumim,
 1495 qui est torrens Cison, consilio Delbore prophetisse animatus Baruch filius Abinoen, de Iabin rege Ydumeorum et Sisara militie eius principe triumphans, Zeb autem et Zebee ac Salmana, reges Ismahelitarum, Agarenorum, Amalechitarum et Ammonitarum, trans Iordanem persequens, tandem ab eorum
 1500 insecutione reversus ipsum Sisaram a Iahel uxore Abel Cynei, clavo per eius tempora solotenus transfixo, repperit interemptum. [47] Quarto miliario a monte Thabor versus occidentem gloriosissima civitas, in via que ducit Achon, Nazareth sita est. In qua ecclesia venerabilis, episcopalis sedis honore prefulgens
 1505 et nomini domine nostre sancte Marie attitulata consistit. In huius ecclesie sinistra abside per gradus fere XV in quendam

1478 *Galilea gentium* (= 1458-1459): Is. 9, 1; Matth. 4, 15. 1481 Regum ... Hystoria] 3 Reg. 9, 11. 1482 *Tyberiadis*: see the note on JW 679. 1483 supradictum] 1421-1422. 1483-1486 Fr 38, 4-5. 1484-1486 Matth. 17, 1-8; Marc. 9, 1-7; Luc. 9, 28-36. 1486-1487 *nobilis ecclesia in honore ... Salvatoris* cf. 1244-1245. 1487 *monastice professionis viri* = 1288-1289. 1487-1488 *sub abbatis imperio deo deserviunt* = 497-498. 1489-1491 Fr 39, 3-5 (Gen. 14, 18). 1491-1493 Fr 39, 7-8 (Luc. 7, 11-15). 1493-1502 Fr 39, 8-12 (Iud. 4, 1-22, 5, 24, and 8, 3-12; Ps. 82, 7-12). 1503 *gloriosissima civitas* cf. 1128. 1504 *ecclesia ... prefulgens* = 1130-1131.

1482 *Tyberiadis* VM, di exp. M 1488 quoque V, ecclesia add. M 1490 Abrahe M(Fr), Abraham V 1492 Thabor V(Fr), monte Thabor M 1494 Cadumim] Caduam M et ut videtur V 1496 Baruch M, Barach V. Cf. JW 86, app. cr. Sisara (= 1500): sira VM 1497 ac M, et V 1504 sedis e sedes corr. M

subterraneum specum descenditur, ubi versus orientem cruciola
in fundo cuiusdam concavi altaris impressa, Christum eidem
domine nostre per Gabrielem archangelum ibidem nuntiatum
1510 fuisse designans. Ad sinistram autem ipsius altaris partem, id
est ad aquilonem, Ioseph sponsus ipsius, nutricius videlicet
Salvatoris, sepultus quiescit, cui etiam altare superpositum est.
Ad dexteram nichilominus, id est ad meridiem, locus cruciolam
solotenus habens impressam desuper arcuatus consistit, in quo
1515 beata dei genitrix de matris sue nascens utero prodiit. Hoc
autem miraculum grande atque stupendum de hac civitate
cunctorum ore narratur, quia quotiens pagani eam impetere
conantur, aut cecitate aut alia qualibet celesti plaga a tali
conatu reprimuntur. Fons in eadem civitate per caput, hoc est
1520 leonis, de marmore incisum ebullit, ex quo infans Iesus sepius
haurire solebat et matri deferre. Hic fons tali ex causa originem
fertur accepisse: dum quodam tempore idem puer Iesus ad
hauriendam de cisterna aquam perrexisset, ipsa ydria ex coe-
vulorum lusibus confracta in sinu tunice sue haustam aquam
1525 matri, aliud vas ad ferendum non habens, detulit. Quam cum
illa recusasset bibere eo, quod non satis honeste eam visus est
detulisse, ipse quasi indignans de sinu suo eam in terram
proiecit, unde statim ille qui adhuc manat fons dicitur erupisse.
Miliario a Nazareth contra meridiem locus est qui 'Precipitium'
1530 vocatur eo, quod ex eo Iudei Christum precipitare volebant
quando ipse transiens per medium illorum ibat. [48] Secundo a
Nazareth miliario Sephoris civitas munita, via que ducit Achon,
ex qua fuit beata Anna, mater genitricis Christi. Quarto miliario
a Nazareth, secundo a Sephori, Chana Galilee contra orientem,

1507-1508 (cf. 1513-1514) *cruciola ... impressa* = 275-276 (*concavi altaris* cf. 274-275). 1508-1510 Luc. 1, 26-38. 1513-1514 (cf. 1507-1508) *cruciolam ... impressam* = 275-276. 1519-1525(-1528) Taken from local tradition and the Gospel of Ps.-Matthew, ed. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 1876, p. 103 (ch. 33), cf. pp. 174-175, ch. 9 of the "Gospel of Thomas" (cf. W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, 1, 1987, p. 357 (ch. 11). I have been unable to find a source for lines 1525-1528. 1519-1520 *Fons ... ebullit* = 1054-1055 (and S 506). 1522 *puer Iesus* (cf. 1520) = 228. 1529-1531 Fr 38, 1-3: Luc. 4, 29-30 (*ipse autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*). 1530 Iudei] See the critical apparatus on JW 67! 1531-1533 Fr 37, 8-9. 1532 *civitas munita* = 1298. 1533-1536 Fr 37, 10-15. (1534-)1535 Philippus] See the note on JW 647-648. Nathanael] Ioh. 21, 2: ... *et Nathanael, qui erat a Cana Galilaeae*.

1511 *nutricius* videlicet V, *nutritor* M 1512 *suppositum* VM, *corr. Bulst*
1519 *caput* Bulst, *captum* VM, *cupellum* Tobler 1520 *incisum* V *et ex*
incisum M 1521 *deferre* V, *aquam deferre* M, *sed* *haurire* = *aquam haurire*
(cf. 1523.1524 *et* 754-755)

- 1535 unde Philippus et Nathanael fuerunt et ubi dominus aquas
convertit in vinum. Item tertio a Sephori miliario castrum
validissimum Templariorum, via que ducit Achon, et mox ultra
tria miliaria ipsa Achon sive Ptolomaida. Hec ergo via, que ab
Achon per Nazareth et Samariam atque Neapolim Ierosolimam
1540 ducit, 'superior' vocatur, et illa que per Cesaream et Liddam ab
Achon Ierosolimam tendit 'maritima' appellatur.
[49] Arabia iungitur Ydumee in finibus Bosra. Ydumea provin-
cia est Syrie, Damascus autem metropolis est Ydumeorum.
Quam civitatem Eliezar servus Abrahe edificavit in agro illo,
1545 in quo Kayn fratrem suum Abel occidit. In Damasco olim Esau,
qui et Seir et Edom, a quo tota illa terra Ydumea vocata est.
Vocatur autem eius quedam pars Hus, ex qua fuit beatus Iob,
pars quoque quedam Sueta vocatur, unde Baldach Suites fuit.
In eadem provincia civitas est Theman, unde Eliphaz Thema-
1550 nites fuit, ibidem est et civitas Naaman, unde Sophar Naama-
tites fuit. Arphat et Emat atque Sepharnaim civitates sunt
Damascenorum. In finibus Ydumeorum, secundo a Iordane mi-
liario, torrens Iadach decurrit, quo transvadato Iacob cum a
Mesopotamia rediret luctatus est cum angelo, qui de Iacob
1555 nomen ei mutavit in Israel. In Ydumea mons est Seir, cui
Damascus supposita est. Secundo a Damasco miliario locus est
ubi Christus Saulum stravit et Paulum statuit, faciens de inimico
amicum et ex persecutore veritatis doctorem. Ad radices Libani
montis Farfar et Albana flumina Damasci oriuntur, quorum
1560 unus, scilicet Albana, planitiem Archados transfluens Mari Ma-
gno se copulat. In illis finibus beatus Eustachius uxore privatus

1535 See p. 193. 1535-1536 Ioh. 2, 1-10. 1542 Fr 24, 9. 1542-
1543 and 1551-1552 cf. Fr 25, 2-4. 1544-1545 Fr 28, 1-2 (cf. Gen. 15, 2);
see the note on JW 593-594. 1545-1546 Fr 28, 4-6 (cf. Gen. 25, 29-30:
Esau ... vocatum est nomen eius Edom, and 36, 8: *Habitavitque Esau in monte Seir: ipse
est Edom*). 1547-1551 Fr 33, 12-14 (Iob 1, 1 and 2, 11). 1551-1552 See
1542-1543 (Fr). 1552-1555 Fr 28, 10-12 (Gen. 32, 22-28). 1553 (cf. JW
604) torrens Iadach] See the introduction, p. 24. 1553-1554 cum a Mesopotamia
rediret] Cf. JW 300-301. 1555-1556 Fr 28, 8. 1556-1557 Fr 28, 13-16.
1557 Act. 9, 1-19 and 13, 9. 1558-1565 Fr 29, 4-9. 1559 and 1560
4 Reg. 5, 12 (*Ab(b)ana*). 1561-1562 Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, (20) September, vol.
6, p. 127 (1, 9-10); *Bibliotheca Casinensis* 3, 1877, *Florilegium* p. 352, or the (much
more recent) *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Graesse, 1890, ch. 161, p. 714-715. Nowhere
the region is specified (but cf. the Martyrology of Usuard, ed. J. Dubois, 1965,
p. 320 (12 October): *In Syria ...*

1546 Seir] Sei VM, cf. 1555 1550 Sophar V, Sopen M 1551 Emat
V, Amai M Sepharnaim sic VM, Sepharvaim corr. Bulst 1553 Iadach VM,
Iaboch *edd.*, sed cf. *adn.* 1557-1558 de ... ex V, de ... de M 1560 Archados
V, Archadis M

et filii orbatus secessit. Farfar per Siriam tendit ad Antiochiam labensque secus muros ipsius decimo ab urbe miliario in portum Solim, qui appellatur Portus Sancti Symeonis, Mediterraneo
 1565 Mari sese insinuat. In hac civitate primo beatus Petrus pontificalem obtinuit dignitatem, que modo patriarchalis sedes existit.

[50] Pheniciam et Ydumeam Libanus dividit. Tyrus civitas metropolis est provincie Phenicis, cuius habitatores Christum
 1570 maritima loca perambulantes recipere voluerunt, ut Syri asserunt, sed ipse non nisi ad oves que perierunt domus Israel semissum fuisse dixit.

Hee autem sunt civitates maritime magne atque murate, que in Syria provincia, Palestina atque Iudea site sunt, que Christianorum subiacent ditioni. Mamistra et Antiochia necnon et Tripolis, que a modernis Tursolt appellatur, simul etiam civitas castrum continens munitissimum, Gibelet nuncupata, urbes sunt Celessirie provincie. Sequitur ad occidentem Beritus in littore maris, a modernis Baruth nominata, civitas locuples et
 1580 firma, grandis et populosa, in qua inimici crucis Christi Iudei ymaginem ipsius aliquando, ei ignominiam putantes inferre, crucifixerunt. Qui cum universa que patres eorum Christo in cruce posito fecisse didicerant probra intulissent, latus etiam ipsius ymaginis lancea pupugerunt, unde cum, sicut ex pendentis
 1585 in cruce Christi latere, sanguis et aqua profluxisset, hoc in vase recipientes peccatum peccatum adicientes deum temptare aggressi sunt. Sed omnipotens deus malo eorum usus est in bonum. Cum enim, ut eum amplius irridere valerent si divine virtutis efficacia subsecuta non fuisset, debilius ex eodem cruore membra delinissent, videntes ex huius sancti liquoris delibutione attactos
 1590

1565-1567 Fr 30, 7-8. 1568 Fr 25, 4. 1568-1571 Fr 25, 5-6. 1570
maritima loca = 1294. voluerunt] Cf. JW 572. 1571-1572 Matth. 15, 24:
non sum missus nisi ad oves quae perierunt domus Israel. 1573 = 1623-1624 (Num.
 13, 29: *urbes grandes atque muratas*; 3 Reg. 4, 13: *civitatibus magnis atque muratis*).
 1575 *subiacent ditioni* = 1085. 1578-1592 (= JW 584-590) Fr 27, 1-6 (BHL
 4227-4230). 1578 *ad occidentem*] See the introduction, p. 24 (and line 1212).
 1579-1580 *civitas locuples ... grandis et populosa* = 1308-1309. 1580 Philipp.
 3, 18: *inimicos crucis Christi.* 1581 *ei ... inferre* cf. 879-880. 1583-1584 *latus*
... pupugerunt cf. 421-422. 1584-1585 *sanguis et aqua*] Ioh. 19, 34. Cf. 413-
 414. 1586 Eccli. 5, 5: *neque adicias peccatum super peccatum*, and 18, 23: *noli esse*
quasi homo qui temptat deum.

1568 Tyrus Tobler, Phenicia e praecedentibus repetunt VM 1573 murate e
 correctura V, mire M 1574 Palestina] Phenicia coni. Tobler 1577 Gibelet]
 Gibelet M et ut videtur V 1578 ad meridiem corr. Tobler 1585 hoc VM,
 hec edd. Sed cf. sanguis et aqua profluxisset = Ioh. 19, 34: exivit sanguis et aqua.

- statim validitatem recipere, professionis christiane fidei colla submiserunt. Que ycona hactenus in eiusdem civitatis ecclesia, pontificali cathedra prefulgente, venerabiliter observatur. [51] Sextodecimo miliario a Berito Sidon civitas egregia, ex qua
- 1595 Dido fuit nata que in Affrica Karthaginem condidit. Sexto miliario a Sidone Sarphan, que et Sarepta Sidoniorum, in qua Helyam prophetam vidua pavit, in qua etiam per eundem prophetam filium vidue, id est Ionam prophetam, a mortuis resuscitavit. Octavo a Sarphan miliario Tyrus, quam moderni
- 1600 Surs vocant, in littore maris existit, omnes alias civitates turrium et menium firma munitione antecedens. Hec cum quadrangula existat, speciem insule preferens, fere tria eius latera mari iunguntur, quartum fossatis, barbicanis, turribus, muris, propugnaculis et minis fortissime communitur. Duos tantum
- 1605 habet exitus, qui quadruplicibus portis ex utraque parte turritis obfirmantur. Duplici portu sicut Accaron insignitur, interius civili, exterius disposito peregrino(rum) navium comitatu. Inter ipsos autem portus bine in altum prominent turres ingenti saxorum mole compacte, catenam maximam de ferro fabricatam pro ianua continentes, (que) intrandi et exeundi facultatem sicut clausa adimit, ita reserata concedit. Hec civitas episcopali honore prefulget. Quarto dehinc miliario castrum nomine Scendelim consistit, per quod aque superne erumpentes et inferius decurrentes in mare ibidem dilabuntur. Tertio deinde miliario
- 1615 vicus grandis exstat, qui a modernis Castrum Inberti appellatur. Sequitur ultra quatuor miliaria Accaron sive Ptolomaida et

1592-1593 *ecclesia ... prefulgente* cf. 1130-1131. 1593 *venerabiliter observatur* cf. 1246. 1594-1595 Fr 26, 11-12. 1595-1599 Fr 26, 7-10. See the note on JW 581. 1599 *resuscitavit*] As always in such phrases, the subject is "The Lord", "Christ", etc. 1599-1600 Fr 25, 5. 1600-1601 *turrium ... munitione* cf. 87-88. 1603-1604 *fossatis ... communitur* cf. 87-88 (*barbicanis* = 90). 1604 *propugnaculis et minis* = 89. 1606 sicut Accaron] Cf. 1309-1312. 1608 *in altum prominent* cf. 97-98. 1608-1609 *turres ... compacte* = 106-107 (*saxorum mole* = 53). 1610 *intrandi et exeundi facultatem* cf. 568. 1611-1612 *episcopali honore prefulget* cf. 1130-1131. 1613-1614 *aque ... inferius decurrentes* = 754-755. 1615 *vicus grandis* = 1334.

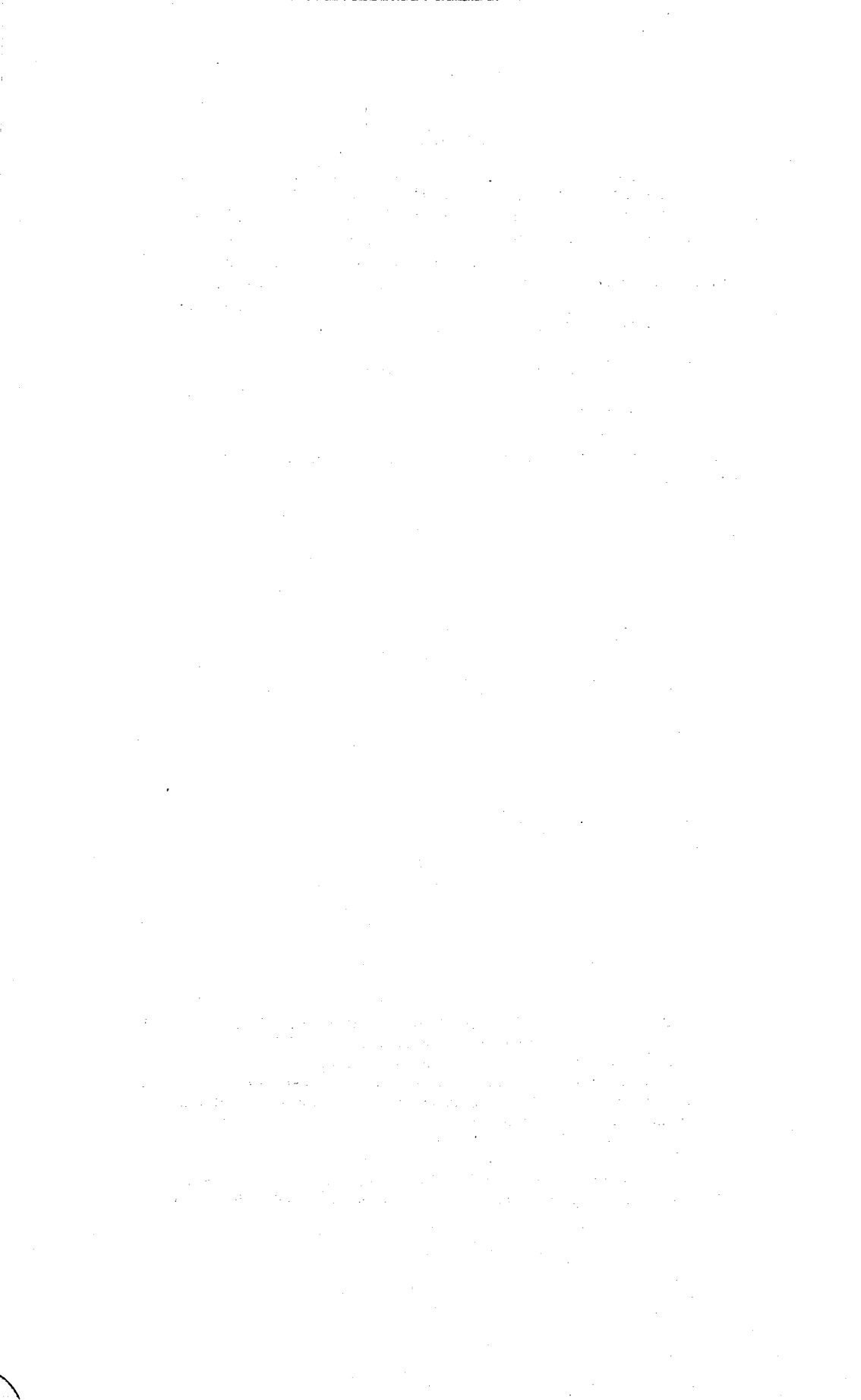
1593 *cathedra* (edd.) *prefulgente* *correx*i, *cathedre prefulgenti* VM. *Ablativi comparativorum in -i desinunt* (exc. 1152.1387), *participiorum praesentium in -e* (exc. 1174)

1595 Dido V, Dyda M 1596 Sarphan V, Sarphim M 1599 *resuscitavit*] Dominus (Bulst, cf. 997), Deus (Tobler) *superflue* add. edd. Cf. *app. cr. ad* 1433 1600 omnes V, duas M 1601 *menium* V, *meniorum* M 1606 sicut (cf. 221) M, sicut et V, cf. *app. cr. ad* 1024 1607 *peregrinorum* *correx*i coll. 1318 (et *peregrinorum passim*), *peregrino* VM 1608 bine M, kine V 1610 *que* *correx*i 1613 erupentes VM 1615 Inberti V, Ruberti M: *errat* Bulst, *app. cr. p.* 57

- postea Cayphas nova atque vetusta ultra miliaria tria. Deinde etiam ultra miliaria sex Cesarea Palestine, ab Herode rege cum adiacente portu insigniter exstructa, itemque ultra XIII miliaria Ioppe sive Iafis cum portu propter australis venti flatum naufragoso, post hec nichilominus in ordine Gaza sive Gazara et civitas munitissima Ascalona, de quibus omnibus supradictum est: hee omnes civitates maritime sunt et omnes magne atque murate sunt.
- 1625 Hec de locis sanctis, in quibus dominus noster Iesus Christus, servi forma pro nobis suscepta, corporalis substantie presentiam exhibuit, partim a nobis visa, partim ab aliis veraci relatu cognita digessimus, sperantes lectorum vel auditorum animos in ipsius amorem per eorum que hic descripta sunt notitiam
- 1630 excitandos.

1617 nova atque vetusta] Cf. 1300-1301. 1618-1619 Fr 74, 13-14. 1621 naufragoso (= naufragioso): Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* 124, 5, CC 40, p. 1839, 29-30: omnes istos montes nominavi, sed naufragosos. See the introduction, note 28. 1622 civitas munitissima = 1215. 1623-1624 = 1573. 1625-1628 Cf. 6-9 (1627 a nobis visa = 934). 1626 Philipp. 2, 7: formam servi accipiens. 1628 lectorum vel auditorum] Cf. 13 and 704.

1619 portu] porta VM 1623-1624 et ... sunt in textu M, manu ipsius librarii in margine V. Cf. app. cr. ad 1078 1630 excitandos] Explicit add. M



INDICES and CONCORDANCES

I. Initia inscriptionum

II. John of Würzburg – Fretellus

III. Theodericus – Fretellus

IV. Tobler's edition of JW – present edition

V. Passages discussed or mentioned
in the introduction

Enumerationem formarum, concordantiam formarum et indicem
formarum a tergo ordinarum inuenies in fasciculo 84 seriei A
Instrumentorum lexicologicorum latinorum.



I. INITIA INSCRIPTIONUM

Ab Antiochia capta Th 593

Absolvo gentes JW 314

A caris caro cara JW *appendix inscriptionum* (c)

Angelicae lumen JW 166-167 and *appendix inscriptionum* (f); Th 1138-1139

Anno milleno centeno JW 1141-1144

Anno millesimo centesimo primo Th 590(-595)

Ascendens Christus in altum Th 272-273

Aspice qui transis Th 347-348

Assumpta est Maria JW 1256; Th 852-853

Audi, domine, ymnum JW 402-404; Th 582-586. *See* Respice, domine

Ave Maria gratia plena Th 230-232(234)

Beati qui habitant JW 392-393; Th 556. *See* Bene fundata est

Benedicta gloria domini JW 388-389; Th 554. *See* Pax aeterna

Bene fundata est JW 391; Th 560. *See* Beati qui habitant

Cernere gratum Th 206-207

Christo surgenti JW *appendix inscriptionum* (g); Th 162-163

Christus discipulis JW 917-918

Christus resurgens JW 1082-1083(1084); Th 184-186

Columpna Romana Th 564

Conditur in tumulo JW *appendix inscriptionum* (d)

Corpore sopitus Th 611-612

Crucifixum in carne Th 268-269

Descensio domini Th 428

Dic, lapis et fossa Th 620-621

Domus mea domus orationis Th 576-579. *See* Haec domus mea

Est locus iste sacer JW 1104-1107; Th 438-441(442)

Exaltata es(t) JW 1196-1197 and Th 856-857; JW 1258

Factus est repente JW 1188

Haec domus mea JW 350. *See* Domus mea

Hec est domus domini Th 550

Haec tua sit terra JW 299

Heredes vitae JW 1226-1227; Th 837-838

Hic est Balduwinus Th 366-370

Hic fuit oblatus JW 291-294; Th 603-604

Hic Iosaphat Vallis JW 1206-1209; Th 842-845

Hic locus insignis JW *appendix inscriptionum* (b)

Hic prothoplastum Th 208-209

Iacobus Alphei, domini JW 334-337
Iacobus Alphei, frater JW 340-343
In domo domini Th 552. *See* In domo tua
In domo tua JW 395-396. *See* In domo domini *and* Vere dominus est
Iste coronatur JW 926
Iste locus vocatur Lithostrotos Th 917-918

Maria virgo assumpta est JW 1246
Matris Christi dignitate JW 1234-1241
Mors hic deletur Th 213-216
Multitudo angelorum JW 1260-1262 (Th 865-870)

Ne timeas, Zacharia JW 311
(Non Franci sed Francones JW 1146-1150)
Nunc dimittis, domine JW 1391-1392(1393)

Pascitur angelico Th 448 (JW 282). *See* Virginibus septem
Pax aeterna JW 388; Th 545. *See* Benedicta gloria domini

Quem Syon occidit JW 693
Quid, mulier, ploras JW *appendix inscriptionum* (a); Th 454-455

Respice, domine JW 404; Th 585-586. *See* Audi, domine, ymnum

Sanctus sanctorum JW 930-933
Sub tumulo lapidis JW *appendix inscriptionum* (e)

Templum domini sanctum est JW 398-399; Th 547-548
Tripolis LXII Th 595

Urbs beata Iherusalem JW 406-407
Urgent Alphei natum JW 740-743

Venit in hunc loculum Th 204-205
Vere dominus est JW 395; Th 558. *See* In domo tua
Vestibus indutus JW 1351-1354; Th 793-796
Viderunt eam filiae Syon JW 1252-1254
Vidi speciosam sicut columbam JW 1248-1250
Virginibus septem JW 279-280; Th 446-447(448)

CONCORDANCE II

John of Würzburg	Fretellus	John of Würzburg	Fretellus
45-53	37, 1-7	330-332	56, 1-2
54-56	37, 8-9	353-355	56, 7-9
61-66	37, 10-16	415-417	60, 1-2
66-68	38, 1-3	445-448	31, 4-7
69-71	38, 4-6	454-463	73, 1-9
73-77	38, 6-10	463-466	72, 6-8
77-78	39, 1	466-469	23, 1-3
78-81	39, 3-6	470-474	23, 3-6 and
81-82	39, 7-8		70, 13
84-90	39, 8-13	475-479	73, 10-13
90-91	40, 1	480-483	74, 1-3
92-99	40, 2-9	484-485	41, 5-6
99-102	40, 11-13	486-488	35, 13-16
102-103 and 106-107	41, 4	489-491	74, 7-8
107-120	42, 1-13	491-493	74, 12-14
120-135	43, 1-14	493-495	75, 1-2
136-142	45, 1-6	497-498	7, 1-2
142-143	44, 1-2	499-501	7, 2-5
143-145	45, 6-7	501-513	8, 1-12
145-149	45, 8-11	513-515	8, 13-14
149-154	45, 12-17	515-528	9, 1-11
155	46, 8	528	9, 13
155-156	46, 2	529-534	10, 1-5
156-164	46, 8-14	534-535	11, 3-4
168-175	47, 1-7	536-537	11, 7-8
176-183	48, 2-8	537-541	11, 8-11
183-187	47, 9-11	541-542	11, 12
187-192	49, 1-5	543-545	21, 3-4
193-195	50, 1-2	545-546	21, 8-9
195-200	51, 1-5	546-547	11, 12-13
200-201	50, 3	547-549	12, 1-3
201-213	51, 5-16	550-553	15, 2-5
213-217	52, 2-6	553-555	18, 10-12
217-218	52, 1-2	555-557	13, 7-9
221-223	53, 1-3	557-559	13, 15
224-230	53, 3-8	561-563	20, 14-16
230-238	54, 1-8	563-566	24, 3-6
265-268	55, 1-3	567	24, 9
268-271	55, 9	569	25, 4
271-272	55, 7-8	569-578	25, 5-12
272-276	55, 10-11	578-584	26, 7-12
283	55, 3-4	584-590	27, 1-6
307-309	56, 2-3	591-592	25, 2-3
315-319	56, 3-6	592-599	28, 1-8

John of Würzburg	Fretellus	John of Würzburg	Fretellus
599-603	33, 12-15	734-735	58, 12-13
603-606	28, 10-12	736	58, 14-15
606	28, 8	744-745	58, 15-16
606-610	28, 13-16	746-747	59, 10
610-611	28, 17-18	762-765	59, 1-2
612-613	29, 1-2	770-775	59, 2-4
613-620	29, 4-9	817	59, 8-9
620-621	30, 7-8	834	cf. 61, 2
622-624	31, 1-4	846	cf. 61, 1
624-629	32, 1-4	855-865	62, 1-6
629-631	32, 7-9	893-894	62, 12-13
631-643	33, 1-11	910-914	62, 14-16
643-648	33, 16-20	919-920	62, 16-17
648-653	34, 1-6	944-945	63, 4-5
654-660	34, 7-12	948-951	65, 2-4
660-673	35, 1-12	954-956	63, 2-4
673-681	36, 1-8	956-959	63, 5-7
681-683	36, 10-12	964	63, 7
683-686	36, 14-16	965-969	63, 7-11
687-693	67, 2-7	983	64, 13
694-697	68, 1-4	1013-1015	65, 4-5
697-700	69, 1-3	1016-1028	64, 1-8
700-702	69, 4-6	1028-1033	65, 5-9
703-704	48, 1-2	1034-1038	66, 1-5
705-709	68, 9-12	1042-1043	66, 5
709-712	72, 1-3	1091-1093	64, 9-10
715-717	72, 3-4	1198-1203	66, 10-11
717-722	58, 17-22	1272-1277	61, 8-11
(717-718	also 71, 9-	1278-1279	57, 7-8
	10)	1341-1348	58, 1-3
722-726	58, 7-9	1405-1413	57, 1-7
726-728	cf. 31, 8-9	1432-1436	cf. 48, 8-9
732-733	58, 9-11		

III

Theodericus	Fretellus	Theodericus	Fretellus
81-83	58, 15-16	614-615	56, 1-2
122-123	61, 8-9	634-637	55, 4-5
127-128	61, 10-11	647-653	52, 2-6
152-154 and 276-278	64, 1-4	653-657	52, 6-8
355	64, 9-10	660-675	52, 9-12
531-532	56, 3-4	675-678	53, 3-4
597-601	cf. 55, 1-2	719-721	51, 1-5

Theodericus	Fretellus	Theodericus	Fretellus
724-725 (1285)	51, 5-7	1246-1247	64, 11-12
740-742	58, 7-II	1256-1260	68, 9-12
762-764	59, 1-2	1261	69, 2
771-772	60, 1	1264-1265	65, 6-8
781-782	53, 5-6	1266-1268	69, 9-10
788-791	58, 1-3	1269	70, 1
808-811	61, 2-4	1272-1273 and 1281-	
816	61, 1	1283	45, 9-II
817-818	66, 3-4	1274-1278	69, 11-13
823-825	67, 5-6	1281-1283 see 1272-	
873-878	cf. 66, 10-II	1273	
908-909	62, 12	1285 see 724-725	
923-924	62, 15-16	1291	69, 4-6
944	57, 1	1298-1299	74, 12-13
959-961	48, 8-9	1344-1345	43, 9-II
1001-1002	71, 14-16	1356-1362	43, 11-14
1025-1027	73, 1-3	1362-1364	43, 8-9
1091-1093	13, 15	1364-1367	43, 5-8
1093-1096	18, 10-12	1371	43, 4-5
1096-1099	15, 2-5	1371-1373	43, 14
1099-1100	19, 1-3	1373-1374	45, 6
1100-1101	20, 14-16	1374-1375	45, 6-7
1101-1103	24, 3-6	1375-1378	45, 2-4
1104-1106	20, 7-8	1378-1380	44, 1-6
1110-1111	12, 1	1381	42, 1
1123-1127	49, 1-5	1386-1394	42, 2-8
1128	cf. 46, 1	1396-1397	41, 4
1150-1151	47, 9-10	1398-1404	40, 1-5
1154-1156	47, 3-4	1404-1405	40, 7
1156-1158	47, 1-3	1405-1408	40, 11-13
1161-1163	7, 2-3	1415-1416	cf. 39, 3
1163-1167	8, 1-4	1422-1432	35, 4-12
1170-1174	8, 10-14	1432-1435	35, 1-3
1174-1185	9, 1-II	1435-1440	31, 1-2
1185-1186	9, 13	1443-1445	31, 3-4
1187	8, 9	1445-1448	32, 1-4
1188-1193	10, 1-5	1449-1450	32, 8-9
1198-1199	11, 3-4	1451-1456	33, 1-8
1199-1200	11, 7-8	1456-1458	33, 10-11
1200-1201	11, 8-9	1458-1464	33, 16-20
1204-1206	11, 9-II	1464-1468	34, 1-5
1207-1210	21, 3-4	1468-1470	34, 7-8
1210	21, 8-9	1470-1472	36, 10-12
1210-1211	11, 12-13	1472-1473	36, 14-15
1225-1241	68, 1-4	1473-1483	36, 1-7

Theodericus	Fretellus	Theodericus	Fretellus
1483-1486	38, 4-5	1551-1552 see 1542-1543	
1489-1491	39, 3-5	1552-1555	28, 10-12
1491-1493	39, 7-8	1555-1556	28, 8
1493-1502	39, 8-12	1556-1557	28, 13-16
1529-1531	38, 1-3	1558-1565	29, 4-9
1531-1533	37, 8-9	1565-1567	30, 7-8
1533-1536	37, 10-15	1568	25, 4
1542	24, 9	1568-1571	25, 5-6
1542-1543 and 1551-		1578-1592	27, 1-6
1552	cf. 25, 2-4	1594-1595	26, 11-12
1544-1545	28, 1-2	1595-1599	26, 7-10
1545-1546	28, 4-6	1599-1600	25, 5
1547-1551	33, 12-14	1618-1619	74, 13-14

CONCORDANCE IV

Tobler, JW, page	present edi- tion, lines ¹	Tobler, JW, page	present edi- tion, lines
108-110 ("Epistola")	1-44		
110-111 (ch. 1)	45-54	163-165 (16)	1396-1438
111 (1)	64-68	165-166 (17)	687-697
111-112 (1)	54-64	166-168 (17)	717-754
112-114 (1)	69-103	168-171 (18)	1198-1262
114-117 (2. 3)	104-154 (but 106-107 after 103 <i>di- citur</i>)	171 (18) 171-172 (19) 172 (19) 172-173 (19)	820-822 155-167 170-175 183-187
117-119 (3)	193-238	173 (19)	168-170
119-121 (4)	257-282	173 (19)	703-704
121 (4)	<i>Appendix liturgica</i> 54- 61	173 (19) 173-174 (19) 174-175 (20) 175-176 (20)	176-183 187-192 442-466 709-717
121-129 (4)	283-441	176 (20)	466-474
129-131 (5)	1362-1395	176-180 (21. 22. 23)	496-569
131-134 (6)	759-819	180-181 (23)	705-709
134-145 (7. 8. 9. 10)	823-1005	181 (23)	697-702
145 (10)	<i>Appendix inscriptio- num</i> (b)	181 (23) 181-182 (23)	489-495 475-483
145-149 (11. 12)	1008-1067	182-189 (24. 25. 26)	569-686
149-150 (12)	<i>Appendix inscriptio- num</i> (a), (g), (c), (d), (e) ²	189 (26) 189-190 (27: "Ad lec- torem")	485-488 1440-1454
150-157 (12. 13. 14)	1067-1197	190-192 (27)	<i>Appendix liturgica</i> 1-
158-163 (15. 16)	1266-1362		53

(1) Tobler suppressed lines 239-257 *alibi*, 484-485, 755-758, 1006-1008 *reliqua*, 1022-1024, 1169-1171 *consummatum* and 1263-1265.

(2) As (f) figured also in lines 166-167 (p. 172), Tobler apparently felt no need to repeat this inscription.

V. PASSAGES DISCUSSED OR MENTIONED IN THE INTRODUCTION

S 1-148	p. 8	JW 447-448	24
9-10	note 3	450	17
120-121	13	461	24
149-169	7	484	19
551-622	8	490	17
620	note 3	495	note 12
		497	note 12
JW 2	29	532	32
27-29	19	563-566	note 22
61	note 29	565	17
65	15	574-577	note 24
68	16	581	17
71-73	19	597-599	24
73-74	24	604	24
91-92	19	621	note 12
94	19	763-764	19
103	19	800-815	note 29
113	20	847	17
115	15	849-851	9
134	28	873-874	28
154	15	881-882	24
159-160	21	887	note 18
160	20	889-890	note 29
176-183	19	987-988	17
183-187	note 22	994	17
189-190	20	1027-1028	note 17
204	20	1029-1031	21
208	20	1058	26 and 28
216	20	1084	26 and 28
222	29 and note 12	1101-1102	17
236-237	21	1123-1167	note 24
237	note 12	1125	16 and 17
249-251	10	1145	9 and 17
272-273	21	1159-1162	9
291-294	16	1164-1167	note 22
297-298	note 29	1196-1197	25-26
314	16	1203-1254	14 and 17
318-321	19	1216-1217	note 29
375	15	1229-1232	note 10
395-396	25	1234-1241	9-10
405	15	1258	25-26
407	note 31	1271-1272	24
428-722	14 and 17	1275-1276	19
442	note 18	1294-1300	16

CONCORDANCE V

209

JW 1303	16	Th 603-604	16
1313-1316	16	634	25
1330-1331	16	680-684	note 28
1336-1338	note 24	691-692	30
1356	25 and 27	706-707	28
1357	15	742-747	30
1371	28	827	30
1376	16	856-857	25-26
1380-1381	27	869	note 28
1432-1436	19	886-887	28
1444-1446	16	894	note 18
1448	16	895-897	28
1450	16	973-974	12
Appendix		1006-1007	28
liturgica I	27	1012-1013	28
		1018	note 28
Th I	22	1040	25
4-5	note 30	1054-1056	28
14-19	note 28	1064-1065	30
21	22	1068-1070	note 23
46-48	note 28	1078	22
69	note 28	1121-1122	30
74	32	1191	32
87-88	31	1205	23
104-105	30	1212-1213	24
125	28	1262-1263	
125-126	29	and 1266	note 13
132-133	30	1320-1323	29
182	26 and 28	1321	12 and note 18
191	26 and 28	1360	28
221	29	1388	23
250	31	1440-1443	26 and 28, notes 18 and 23
251-253	12		
289-292	29	1488	23
309-310	29	1496	32
373-376	note 28	1521	23
376-377	28	1553	24
552	25	1578-1579	24
590-595	26-27 and note 18	1615	12
593	note 31	1623-1624	22

INDEX

- Aachen: Aquisgranum
 Aaron S 291; JW 126.561; Th 1099
 Abacuc propheta Th 1221
 Abarim, Abarym mons JW 561; Th 1100
 Abbana, Albana fluuius Damasci JW 614.615.729; Th 1559.1560
 Abdias propheta JW 112; Th 1394
 Abel JW 508.594; Th 1369.1545
 Abel (= Haber) Cyneus Th 1500: Iahel
 Aberemeus: Gebel
 Abibon S 403; JW 690
 Abinoen: Baruch
 Abraham S 218.231.475.490; JW 78.137.144.504.518; Th 1166.1169.1176.
 1375.1490: Ortus Abrahae, Eliezar, Loth
 Acco, Accaron, Acharon: Achon
 Acheldemach ager S 353-354.360; JW 1273; Th 80.122
 Achon (= Acco), Accaron, Acharon, Acras, Ptolomaida, Ptolomais S
 502.537.561.566; JW 55; Th 1295.1305.1308.1309-1322.1325.1503.1532.
 1537.1538.1539.1541.1606.1616
 Ad Balneum *sive* Ad Presepe domini Salvatoris Th 728
 Ad Cursum Gallinarum: Iezrael
 Ad Presepe domini Salvatoris: Ad Balneum
 Ad Sanctam Mariam Latinam, Sancta Maria (in) Latina S 261-262; JW
 1311-1312; Th 956
 Ad Sanctam Mariam Maiorem JW 1307-1310; Th 483ff.
 Ad Sanctum Georgium Th 1292
 Ad Sanctum Iohannem (= Samaria) Th 1382
 Ad Sanctum Samuelem Th 1287-1288
 Ad Sanctum Sanguinem JW 1001
 Ad Sanctum Sepulchrum JW 1056
 Ad Vincula Sancti Petri JW 1355
 Adam S 226.476; JW 501.504.507.976.978.1077; Th 262.1160.1165.1172
 Adama JW 532; Th 1191
 Adamnan p. 15
 Adolfus de Colonia Th 126
 Affrica JW 584; Th 1595
 Agareni Th 1498
 Agios Georgios S 618
 Albana: Abbana
 Albert of Aachen JW 1149, Albert of Tarsus p. 18, n. 11
 Alemanni JW 1125.1129.1133.1160.1166-1167.1447; Domus Alemannorum
 (: *hospitale*) JW 1337; nostra gens, nostri viri JW 1131.1139; non
 nostro more Th 98
 Alexander: Paris
 Alexandria S 61; JW 114; Th 1390
 Allachiber *id est* summus deus JW 229

- Alpes JW 118
 Alpheus: Iacobus Alpei
alumen (catrannium, kateranium) JW 539; Th 1206
 Alverni JW 1158
 Amalech(ita) JW 79; Th 1490.1498
 Amalricus: Emelricus
 Ammonitae Th 1499
 Amon: Baruch
 Amorgos: Omargos
 Amorrei: Seon
 Amos propheta JW 703
 Ananias JW 610
anastasis, id est sancta resurrectio (altare) JW 1073-1074
 Ancho (Kos) S 47
 b. Andreas apostolus S 23-24.524; JW 648.669-670; Th 1463
 Andria (Andros) S 38
 Anglici JW 1450
 s. Anna mater B.M.V. S 312; JW 55.1398; Th 939.(1515).1533; *Vita* JW 1400-1401, *festum* JW 1401-1402: Sancta Anna
 Anna mater Samuelis prophetae Th 1268
 Antichristus JW 649; Th 1464-1465
 Antiochia, Anthiochia S 75; JW 617-618.618-619.620; Th 593.1562.1575:
 Parva Antiochia, s. Petrus. — See also p. 18, n. 11
 Antiochus rex Sirie Th 661-662.666.1262
 Antonia JW 495; Th 134.718
 Antoninus p. 15
Apocrypha (Gospels): Matthew, Nichodemus, Thomas
 Apulia S 8
 Aquisgranum JW 234; Th 221: Albert of Aachen
 Aquitania JW 235
 Arabia S 467-468 (inimicissima Christianis et infestissima omnibus
 deum colentibus); JW 543.547.550-566.567; Th 47.1018.1049.1067.
 1089.1093.1099.1101.1107.1110.1207.1211.1542; Arabes JW 638; Th 1455
archa testamenti JW 146-149; Th 1272ff.
 Archas (planicies Archados) JW 615; Th 1560
 Architriclini monasterium S 534-535
arcus lapideus antiquus (Ecce Homo arch) JW 1423-1424
 Areuna (Hornan, Ornan) Iebuseus JW 201-202; Th 724.1285
argentei: denarii
 Arimathia: Ioseph
 Armeni(i) JW 1321.1326.1451; Th 285.320.461.928.960
 Arnold (K.) p. 30, n. 27
 Arphat JW 591; Th 1551
 Arsuph, *latine* Azotum S 558-559
 Ascalon(a, ia) JW 151; Th 595.1215.1622
 Asfaltidis, Aspaltidis Lacus: Mare Mortuum
 Asimi (Simi) S 50
 Assyrii, Assirii (a) Th 651; (b) S 202.208.263.323.374

- Athenae S 32
 Augusta: Samaria
 b. Augustinus S 10.229; JW 384.518-519.848; Th 216.1621
 Augustus Cesar JW 108.492
 Aulon JW 471.626
aurei: denarii. - aureae litterae JW 406
Ave, praeclara maris stella p. 22, n. 15
 Avezac (M.A.P. d'Avezac) p. 7
 Azotum: Arsuph

 Babilon(ia) (a) JW 217; Th 649.1223: Nabuchodonosor; (b) S 568
 Bahat (D.) preface, p. 5
 Bala: Segor
 Balaam JW 544; Th 1209
 Balac(h) filius Be(h)or rex Moabitarum JW 544; Th 1208-1209
 Baldac(h) Suites JW 600; Th 1548
 Baldewinus, Balduinus, Balduwinus, Baldwinus primus rex Francorum
 in Iherusalem S 560(flos regum).(569); JW 563-564.1151; Th 364.
 366.1102-1103. - Balduwinus III Th 363-364
 Baldi (D.) p. 16
 Baldricus (Baudri) of Bourgueil JW 1149
balearis arcus Th 694
balneum, balnea Christi S 322; Th 732; balneatorium B.M.V. S 446;
 balnea medicabilia JW 644-645 (Th 1459-1460): Ad Balneum
baptisterium Th 381
 Barachias: Zacharias
barbicanae Th 90.109.1603
 Bari: Varum
 Barlum (Barletta) S 6
 s. Barnabas apostolus S 73
 s. Bartholomeus apostolus S 31; JW 83
 Baruch filius Amon, Abinoen JW 86.88; Th 1496
 Baruth: Berit(h)us
 Basan: Och
 s. Basilius (imago) JW 1232-1233 and p. 9
 Bede p. 15
 Be(h)or: Balac(h)
 Belina(s): Paneas
 Belmont Th 1263
 Benjamin JW 188; Th 1124; tribus JW 718; Th 650
 Berit(h)us, Baruth S 563; JW 584-585; Th 595.1578-1579.1594
 Bernard of Clairvaux Th 948
 Bersabee JW 151
 Beter: Betheron
 Bethagla JW 467
 Bethania S 313.447; JW 421.721.760.762-763.765-766.792.802.810.812.816;
 Th 762.764.765.767.983-984.994.1001: Sanctus Lazarus, Ivette

- Bethel (Jerusalem) S 278-279; JW 209.221.223. — Bethel, *antea* Luza
 JW 122.128.135.136.141-142.144; Th 1365.1366.1374
- Betheron, *nunc* Beter Th 1269
- Bethfage, Bethphage S 453; JW 720.817; Th 767
- Bethleem S 425.428-429 (monasterium B.M.V.).477; JW 150.155-187.
 241.703; Th 108.1118.1128-1156
- Bethphage: Bethfage
- Bethsaida S 524; JW 647-651; Th 1462.1463.1464.1466: *cf.* Bethsayda
- Bethsamis Th 1277.1281
- Bethsan: Scitopolis
- Bethsayda: Probatrica Piscina
- Bet(h)ulia JW 681; Th 1471
- Bisancia JW 693
- Bischoff (B.) p. 15, n. 7
- bitumen Iudaicum* JW 540-541; Th 1204
- Boemi JW 1451
- Boeren (P.C.) pp. 18.19
- Boethius S 2; Th 744 (1076)
- Bosra, Bostron JW 567.599.630; Th 1450.1542
- botri maximi et precoqui* Th 1083-1084
- Brachium Sancti Georgii S 610.614-615
- brachium*: s. Cyprianus, Iohannes Baptista, Symon apostolus
- Brandic (Brindisi) S 15
- Brefeld (J.) p. 13, n. 5
- s. Brendanus p. 14
- Brindisi: Brandic
- Brittanni JW 1449
- Bulgari JW 1448(B)
- Bulst (M.L. and W.) preface, p. 6, pp. 12.22.27.29
- Burgundiones JW 1158
- buza* Th 1322
- Byblos, Gibelet: Iubelet
- Cabrata: Kabrata
- Cacho castellum Th 1297
- Cadesbarne Th 1184
- Cadumim, Cadumin torrens *qui et* Cyson, Cison JW 84-85; Th 1494-
 1495
- Cain, Kain, Kayn JW 477.479.480.593; Th 1367.1545
- Caleph JW 527; Th 1183
- Calimnos S 47
- Callipolis S 618
- Calvaria S 218(mons Calvarius).233.237; JW 939.941.944.952.954.965.
 984.1000.1006.1009.1097-1098.1117 and *Appendix inscriptionum* (b);
 Th 339.384.410.432.435.929: Golgat(h)a, *custodes*
cameli JW 1368
- campus* (diei iudicii) Th 1120-1123
- Canā, Chana Galileae S 532; JW 62.963; Th 1534

- canonici* Th 513.976, *claustrum* Th 341-342
cantica graduum Th 523-524
 Caphalania S 19
 Caphargamala Th 1297
 Capharnaum S 390; JW 647.654-661; Th 1462.1468
 Capharsemala Th 1297
 Capheturici, Caphetunici (?) JW 1452
capilli B.M.V. Th 493-494, *Mariae Magdalenae* JW 789-790
caput: Iohannes Baptista, Philippus
 Cara: Segor
carcer domini S 207.212; JW 951; b. Petri JW 1339(1341)ff.; Th 786(788)ff.:
 Ad Vincula
 Carea S 41
 Cariatharbe: Hebron
 Cariathiarim *id est* Gabaa Th 1280.1282
 Carmelus mons JW 475.481.489
 Carnaim civitas, Karnaim spelunca JW 543; Th 1207
 Carnarium leonis JW 694-697; Th 1225-1243
 Cartago, Karthago JW 583; Th 1595
 Carusium JW 235
castellum, castrum see under proper names
cathena qua b. Petrus erat vinctus Th 921 (: *circulus*)
catrannium: *alumen*
catti S 142; Pryor, p. 49
 Cayphas princeps sacerdotum Th 905
 Cayphas civitas S 502.559-560.566; Th 1300.1617
 Cedar JW 644.651-653; Th 369.1459.1467.1468
 Cedron torrens S 339.341.347; JW 751; Th 73.774.828.829
 Celessiria Th 1578
cenaculum: Mons Sion
 Cepthi (= Nubiani) JW 1452
 Cerulli (E.) JW 1452
 Cesarea Palestina(e) S 501.559.571; JW 489-490; Th 1298-1299.1540.1618:
 Turris Strat(h)onis
 Cesarea Philippi: Paneas
 Chaldei S 569
 Chana: Cana
 Chanaan Th 23
 Charroux: Saint-Sauveur
 Chorherren: *domini*
 Chorinthia S 25.33
chorus: *domini*
 Christiani: *corpora Christianorum*. — Christianitatis provincia JW 1164
 Chyneret: Tiberias
cimiterium, sepultura: Acheldemach, Porta Aurea
 Cinereth: Tiberias
 Cipros S 70.76.79.587
circulus deauratus Th 778, *circuli cathenae* s. Petri Th 921 (: *cathena*)

- Cison: Cadumim
 Cisterna Rubra Th 1002-1004.1019-1020
cisterna(e) Th 79.100.698.862.949.1115.1119.1417: Ioseph, *machina rotalis*
 – cisterna ... in quam stella dicitur esse dilapsa S 444-445
claustrum clericorum Th 533: *domini*
claves Constantinopolitanae S 617
clerici: claustrum, officinae
 Clermont-Ganneau (C.) Th 422
Cogitis me: Ieronimus
 Cologne (Colonia), St. Barbara p. 22, n. 14: Adulfus
 Coloses (Colossus) S 53, Colossenses S 55
columpna flagellationis S 212-214; Th 359-360.912-915; *columpna* quam
 simplices homines circumgirare solent Th 826-827; *columpna Ro-*
mana Th 564
 Compas (locus vocatus...) S 237-239 (Th 625-629): *meditullium terrae*
concha lapidea Th 731.815
 Confessio (locus vocatus...) JW 307
 Constantinopolis S 25.64-65.603-604; JW 115.691.744-1095; Th 823.825.
 1152.1392; *claves Constantinopolitanae* S 617
 Constantinus imperator S 178-179; JW 224; Th 236-237.643.678
 Corinthia: Chorinthia
 Cornelius centurio JW 490
 Corozaim S 524; JW 649.650.651; Th 1464.1466
corpora Christianorum inhumata S 156-167
 Cosdroe rex Persarum JW 696; Th 332
 Crassa Gallina: Genunium
 Creta S 40
criptae S 414.430; JW 306.753.853.1039.1092.1201.1340; Th 634.833.835.
 859.862.865.1133.1140-1141.1146.1393
cruces S 209; Th 415 and 1331 (peregrinorum).1336; *crux deaurata* Th
 567.847
s. crux, crux domini, lignum crucis S 209 (sancta crux cum aliis cruci-
 bus); JW 1092-1098; Th 300.322.326.328-330.355.781-782.1037-1038.
 1246-1248: Sancta Crux
cunabula, cunabulum, cune Christi S 321; JW 1395; Th 729
 Cunradus (III) rex JW 1381
 Curphos (Corfu) S 17
cursus beate Marie Th 253
custodes sepulchri domini JW 1051-1052; Th 150.166; Calvariae Th 390-
 392.417; equorum Th 692-693
s. Cyprianus episcopus Th 496-497 (*brachium*)
 Cyrus Persarum rex Th 656
 Cyson: Cadumim

 Damascus JW 568.568-569.591.591-594.606-611.1166.1381; Th 369.1450.
 1543.1545-1556.1559; Damasceni Th 1552; fluvii: Abbana, Farfar
 Dan civitas JW 122.128.143; Th 369.1364.1366. – Dan fluvius: Ior et
 Dan, Iordanis

- Daniel propheta Th 1224
 David S 478 ('filius David' S 314); JW 98.149.194.200-202.470.528.565-566 ('regnum David'); Th 112.398.720.725.1185-1186.1281; civitas David Th 1283; Ierusalem
De distantiiis locorum S 229-230; JW 521-522.535
 Delbora prophetissa JW 85; Th 1495
denarii XXX Th 1301-1302 = *aurei* JW 881-882.1271
De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum: De distantiiis locorum
Deus adiuvet! Th 297
 Devos (P.), Bollandiste JW 1452; Th 422
 Dido JW 583; Th 1595
 Didron (A.N.) Th 422
dies egyptiaca: hora
 Dietrich von Amorbach: Theodericus of Fleury
 Dietrich von Hohenburg p. 29
 Dietricus JW 2 (222)
 Digitus (locus vocatus...) Th 818
 Dina, Dyna filia Iacob JW 123.130; Th 1364
 b. Dionisius S 34
 Diospolis: Lidda
dirps: Mambre
 Dolbeau (F.) p. 22 and n. 14
 Domicianus Cesar S 43
domini] chorus JW 1008.1072, claustrum JW 344.436.1078.1091: *claustrum*
 Dominicum Sepulchrum: Sepulchrum Domini(cum)
 Domus Alemannorum JW 1336-1337
 Dothaim JW 104-105.684; Th 1472
dromundi S 141-142.576-577; Pryor, p. 49
 Dubois (dom Jacques) JW 572-573; Th 1561-1562
 Duval (Y.-M.) JW 581
 Dysmas *see* Gestas

 Ebron: Hebron
 Ecce Homo arch JW 1423-1424
 Edom: Esau
 Effraim montana (Sophim) Th 1266.1269
 Effrata, Ephrata JW 156.1275; Th 207
 Effron filius Seor Ethei Th 1170
 Egyptus, Egiptus S 233.488; JW 125.469.512; Th 369.1050.1104.1171.1371; desertum Th 47.1088-1090.1091; Egiptii JW 1452: *hora egyptiaca*, Maria Egyptiaca, Memphis
 Eizenhöfer (L.) preface, p. 6
 Eleuteropolis: Emaus
 Eliezar, Heliezer servus Abrahae JW 593; Th 1544
 Elim Th 1093
 Eliodorus JW 58
 Elisabeth, Elysabeth mater Iohannis Baptistae JW 708; Th 1257.1260

- Eliphaz Themanites JW 601; Th 1549-1550
 Emat Th 1551
 Emaus, Eleuteropolis, Fontenoid JW 1031; Th 1264
 Emelricus (Amalricus) rex Ierusalem Th (363).376-377
 Emor, Hemor Etheus JW 121.123.129; Th 1363-1364
 Endor mons JW 84.88.89; Th 1493-1494
 Engaddi JW 470-474
 Ennon: Vallis Ennon
 Ephesus S 44, Ephesii S 46
 Ephrata: Efrata
Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei p. 14
 Eraclius: Heraclius
 Esau *qui et* Seir (Seyr) *et* Edom JW 594-595 and Th 1545-1546; Edom
 JW 595.597.598; mons Seir, Seyr JW 606; Th 1555
 Esdras Th 655
 Ethiopes JW 1452
 b. Eustachius JW 616; Th 1561
 Eustochium: Paula
 Eva JW 505; Th 1167
 Excisus (locus vocatus...) JW 546; Th 1210
 Ezechiel propheta Th 631
- Farfar fluvijs Damasci JW 614.617.729; Th 1559.1562
 s. Femius: Sanctus Femius
 Fenicia, Phenicia, Phenicis JW 569; Th 1568.1569, Fenices JW 570
fenum in quo puer Iesus latitaverat JW 161-164
 Finica S 68
flagellari solent peregrini Th 914-915
 Flavius Iosephus: Iosephus
 Fons Iacob S 498; JW 132; Th 1361
 Fontenoid: Emaus
foramina quinque JW 887, *sex* Th 894
Formula honestae vitae p. 14
forum venalium rerum Th 463-464
 Franci S 556; JW 576.1130-1131.1139.1144.1146.1149.1157.1162.1450(B);
 Th 250: Baldewinus rex
 Francia JW 1134
 Franco(nes) JW 1146.1149
 Fretellus p. 18ff. and notes 10, 11 and 29; JW 29, and *passim*
 Fulcher of Chartres JW 1447-1453
 Fulcherius patriarcha Ierosolymitanus Th 442
 Fulco rex Ierusalem Th (376)
- Gabaa: Cariathiarim
 Gabaath mons JW 718
 Gabatha: Pilatus
 Gabriel (arch)angelus S 295; JW 50; Th 230.259.1509
 Galenus: Galienus

- Galicia JW 1330
 Galienus (= Galenus) medicus S 47-48
 Galilea S 493.512; JW 46.100.459.629; Th 25.1409.1449; Galilea gentium
 JW 644.676.677; Th 1458-1459.1478.1479; magna civitas iuxta mon-
 tem Thabor S 388.535.538; capella S 383-387.397; (viri) Galilei S 371-
 372.387; JW 917.1174: Cana, Gallicantus, Mare Galileae
 Gallia(e) JW 115.234
 Gallicantus, aeclesia Sancti Petri *vulgariter* Galilea S 397.413-414; JW
 913-914.918.(920); Th 920
 Gallina: Minor Gallina *and* Ad Cursum Gallinarum, Genunium
 Gamaliel S 403; JW 690
 Garizim mons JW 142; Th 1378
 Gaufridus: Geoffrey
 Gaza, *nunc* Gazara Th 1213.1215.1621
 Gebal ager JW 511; mons JW 143; Th 1379
 Gebel uxor Aberemei JW 87
 Gelboe montes S 564 (!); JW 97.98-99.451.624.625; Th 1087.1405.1444.1446
 Geminum: Genunium
 Genesareth S 525.527; JW 673.675; Th 1477: Mare Galileae
 Genunium, Genuinum, Geminum, *modo* Crassa *vel* Maior Gallina JW
 102-103.106.107.484; Th 1397.1398
 Geoffrey of Vinsauf p. 23
 Geon, Gyon mons JW 1276; Th 127
 b. Georgius JW 701; Th 1291
 Ger: Gerlicus
 Gerasa: Gergessa
 Gergessa (Gerasa) JW 486-487
 Gerlicus (= Ger, locus...) JW 484
Gesta Godefridi de Boulion p. 22
 Gestas *and* Dysmas Th 422
 Get(h)semani S 340.346.355; JW (751).822.857.884-885; Th (829.830).
 (888).887 and 895-897 (ecclesia).898: (*h*)orti
 Gibel S 564
 Gibelet: Iubelet
gigantes JW 498; Th 1163: Hebron
 Godefridus, Gotefridus (of Bouillon) JW 1124.1149.1151; Th 364.371
 Golgat(h)a, Golgotha S 225; JW 946; Th 207.430.434.458: Calvaria
 Gomorra JW 532; Th 1191
 Gorgiani JW 1451
 Gortus JW 626
Gospels: Apocrypha
 Graboïs (A.) p. 9 and n. 22
 Grecia S 16.612.615. – Greci S 48.89-90(non sunt hospitales).608.622;
 JW 1447; Th 285; monachi S 420; JW 921; literae Th 224.425, cf.
 JW 1409 and Th 233.957 (grece)
 Gregory the Great JW 797-800
 Grisi monachi (O.Praem.) Th 1288-1289
 Guibert of Nogent p. 29 and n. 30; Th 3.39-40

- Guido: Guy
gulafri S 142; Pryor, p. 50
 Gundram JW 1149
 Guy de Columnis p. 23
 Gwiscard: Rodbertus Gwiscard
 Gyon mons: Geon
- Haber Cyneus: Abel
 Hadrianus: Heliüs Adrianus
 Hagenmeyer (H.) JW 229; Th 297
 Haiton p. 22
 Halapia: Noradinus
 Hebreus, Hebrei JW 417; Th 1275; mos JW 1210-1211 and Th 287-288; hebreum vocabulum JW 626-627, cf. 894.946 and S 328.374 (hebraice)
 Hebron, Ebron S 230.475.479; JW 150.469.496-506.510.511.515.526.528.529.980; Th 1160.1182.1187.1188.1212; = Kariath Iarbe, Cariatharbe JW 501-503; Th 1163 (Arbe Th 1168); metropolis Philistinorum JW 497; Th 1162: *gigantes*
 Hegesippus Th 132
 Helchana pater Samuelis Th 1268
 Helena S 621
 Helena regina S 179.210; JW 162-163.224.1092 (altare 1093-1094); Th 139.237.245.350 (351 altare).355.642.677.825
 Hely sacerdos Th 1274
 Helia, Helya (= Jerusalem) S 198; JW 154
 b. Helias, Helyas propheta S 468.517.520; JW 71.483.580; Th 1597
 Heliezer: Eliezar
 Helim JW 557
 Heliseus, Helyseus propheta S 457-458; JW 112.462.483.715.727; Th 1394
 Heliüs, Helias Adrianus imperator S 192; JW 154.901
 Heraclius, Eraclius imperator S 315; JW 226; Th 331-332.781
heremitae JW 749
 Hermon mons (S 539 = Libanus); JW 78.89; Th 1416
 Herodes S 439.497; JW 109.174.492.493.1328.1343; Th 132.670.718.1618.
 - Herodes Iunior Th 790.1387
 Hesbert (R.-J.) preface, p. 6, and *passim*
 Hierosolima, Hierusalem: Ierosolima
 Hiestand (R.) p. 18, n. 11
 Hiram, Yram rex Tyri(orum) JW 678; Th 1480-1481
 Hispania, Hyspania S 55; JW 1330(B); Hyspani JW 1158
 Holofernes JW 683; Th 1471
 Hor mons Th 1099
hora (dies) egyptiaca S 10.15
 Horace JW 1288; Th 694.1205
 Hornan Iebuseus: Areuna
horologium JW 319

- (h)orti Th 59.514.727.929: Get(h)semani, Ortus Abrahæ
 Hospitalarii, Hospitales, Hospitarii JW 1376; Th 711.949.1015.1060.1316.
 1327-1328.1353.1411: *hospitale, mos*
hospitale Sancti Iohannis Baptistæ S 268-269; JW 1282-1306.1313-
 1314(B); Th 466; Sanctæ Mariæ, Domus Alemannorum JW 1336-
 1337; Armen(i)orum JW 1326-1327; near the Porta Sancti Stephani,
grece xenodochium Th 957
 Hosta(e portus: Livadhostron) S 28
 Hus terra *quæ et* Sueta JW 599-600.642; Th 1457.1547-1548: Baldac(h)
 Iabboc] JW 604 (fluvius Iacob); Th 1553 (torrens Iadach)
 Iabin rex Ydumeorum Th 1496
 Iacob S 232.279.475; JW 129.132.135.137.189.190.294.295.299.300.468.504.
 604; Th 606.611.1124.1125.1166.1363.1375.1553; = Israel JW 605-606;
 Th 1554-1555: Dina, Fons Iacob, Iabboc
 Iacobini, Iacobitæ JW 782-783.1417.1451; Th 285.287
 s. Iacobus (Maior) apostolus S 18(vigilia).256-257(capella).257-258(primus
 pontifex Ierosolymitanus).342.511; JW 71.74.1325(aecclesia).1327-
 1333(testa).1401-1402(dies)
 s. Iacobus (Minor, Alpei, frater domini) JW 329-330(capella).330-343
 (331-332 primus pontifex Ierosolymitanus).648.736-744; Th 356 (al-
 tare).561(ecclesia).613-614(capella).614-621.1463
 Iadach: Iabboc
 Iafis: Ioppe(n)
 Iahel Th 1500: Abel Cyneus
 Iebusei: Areuna
 Iericho, Ihericho S 455-464; JW 150.447.455.463.466.471.710; Th 1078.
 1083.1109
 Ieroboam rex Israel JW 125; Th 1365
 s. Ieronimus, Iheronimus S 436.437; JW 48.57-58 and 186.1214-1216.1229-
 1232.1252-1254(*Cogitis me*, see also introduction, n. 10).185.471.521-
 522.581.593-594.594-595.652-653.657-658; Th 61.1151.1179. — Ps.-Je-
 rome JW 57-60
 Ierosolima, Ierusalem (Ihe-, Hie-): superna JW 2-3. — S 1.149.170 (in-
 troitus).551, and *passim*; JW 12-13.17-18.152-154.193.243.419.1278.1440-
 1441, and *passim*; Th 43.61.627-628.992, and *passim*; civitas oblonga
 Th 94; civitas David Th 1283; portæ Th 90-93(: Porta...); habitacula
 leprosorum Th 947-948; partes Ierosolimitanæ JW 251-252; rex Th
 110.1352, regum sepulchra Th 361ff.; ecclesia Th 284.997-998, patriar-
 cha Th 419 (revenues 255), clerus Th 419; sepulchrum multorum
 episcoporum (Bethania) S 450-451; liturgy JW 71-73.1080-1089.1111-
 1115 and *Appendix liturgica*: Helia, Salem; episcopi: s. Iacobus, Io-
 hannes, Maximus
 Ierusalem (locus vocatus...) Th 628: Compas
 Iezabel regina JW 92; Th 1400.1404
 Iezrael, Iezrahel *quæ et* Zaraim, *modo* Minor Gallina, *nunc* Ad Cur-
 sum Gallinarum JW 91-92.95.97.102; Th 1398-1399.1401.1404.1409
ignis Paschalis Th 289ff.506-508

- Iheu rex Israel JW 485; Th 1400
 Inberti castrum Th 1615
inclusa: b. Pelagia
incursus, incursiones, insidiae gentilium, Sarracenorum, Turcorum S
 151; Th 104-105.482.659.799-800.860-861.978-979.1059.1085.1249.1412.
 1414-1415
index: Iohannes Baptista
 Indi JW 1452
indulgentia Th 637
 Innocentes S 438; JW 173
Innominatus VI p. 18 and 28 and n. 10; JW 576-577.719; VII p. 18
 and n. 10; JW 291-294.314
insidiae: incursus
 Ioachim pater B.M.V. S 311; JW 1400
 Iob JW 599-600.603.642; Th 1457.1547
 s. Iohannes patriarcha S 403-404 = episcopus Ierosolimitanus Th 821-
 822
 Iohannes Baptista S 496-497; JW 108-119.308.445-453-454.708; Th 258-
 259.264-265.380.1071.1258.1386-1387; vigilia S 594; brachium Th 1392-
 1393, caput JW 114-116 and Th 1389-1392, index JW 116-119. -
 capella JW 1136-1137, ecclesia(: Sanctus Iohannes, *hospitale*) JW 1281-
 1282.1306-1307; mater: Elisabeth, pater: Zacharias
 b. Iohannes apostolus et evangelista S 42-43.276.342-343.510-511, capella
 S 247; JW 71.74.353.648.756.957.960.964; Th 423-424.1463
 Iohannes (Balbi) de Ianua, *Catholicon* Th 1457
 Iohannes Wirzburgensis JW 1
 Iohannes: Presbyter Iohannes
 Iohel propheta JW 255
 Ionas propheta JW 581; Th 1598
 Ionathas JW 98
 Ioppe(n), Iafis S 74.84.91.149.466.553.558.570.583; JW 152.701.1329; Th
 1217-1219.1620
 Ior et Dan S 541; JW 449.623.631-647; Th 1443.1451.1457.1460: Iordanis
 Iordanis S 463.464.466-467.469.540.542-545.549; JW 88.110.446.448.467.
 603.624.626.629.631.727.1437; Th 47.1005.1008.1015.1017.1049.1058.1062.
 1068.1072.1074.1076.1107.1109.1413.1445.1499.1552
 Iosaphat rex Iudee JW 745; Th 76.82: Vallis Iosaphat
 Ioseph S 232.487; JW 105-106(cisterna).124.132.684; Th 1002-1003 (: Cis-
 terna Rubea).1362.1371.1473
 Ioseph nutritor/nutricius Christi S 358; Th 1511
 Ioseph ab Arimathia JW 1017; Th 153.276.426.1149.1219-1220
 Iosephus (Flavius) JW 494; Th 60.132.670
 b. Iosias JW 734
 Iosue JW 527; Th 1183
 Isaac, Ysaac S 231.475; JW 504; Th 1166.1375
 Isidore of Seville JW 155.374.674; Th 694
 Ismahelitae JW 685; Th 1498
 Israel JW 656; Th 1282; domus Israel Th 1571; Israelita JW 341;

Israhelitica plebs Th 23; secundus Israel JW 688; = Iacob JW 606;
Th 1555; filii Israel S 232.474.487-488; JW 147-148.545.547.556.557.
560.711; Th 655.1088.1091-1092.1104.1111.1209-1210.1262.1273; Iero-
boam, Iheu

Iturea: Philippus tetrarcha

Iubelet, Gibelet (Byblos) S 562; Th 1577

Iuda, tribus JW 470.499.756.1025; Th 650.1161; terra Th 654.1221;
regnum Th 41: Bethleem, Ozias, Sedechia, *bitumen*

Iudas JW 879.885.1271; Th 903.1302

Iudas: Machabei

Iudea S 425.465; JW 152.193.534.546; Th 25.34.35.46.49.478.666.710.
1211.1436.1574; caput Iudaici regni Th 41: Iosaphat

Iudei S 293.305.307.309.398; JW 270.317.473.587.740.880.908.954; Th
671.871.878.904.952.1301.1530; impii Th 32.615, inimici crucis Christi
Th 1580

Iudith JW 682; Th 1471

Iulianus apostata JW 113.1236; Th 1389

Iustinianus Augustus S 199; JW 227-228

Ivette, abbess of St Lazarus Th 377

James (M.R.) p. 7, n. 1

James of Verona p. 22

Jerome: s. Ieronimus

John de Hese p. 22

John de Plano Carpini p. 7

Kabrata, Katabrata JW 187-188; Th 1124

Kain: Cain

Kara, Kairam mons JW 475.480-481

Kariath Iarbe: Hebron

s. Kariton JW 176-183.1433-1439; Th 960-961

Karnaim: Carnaim

Karolus Magnus JW 233, Calvus JW 234-235

Karthago: Cartago

Katabrata: Kabrata

kateramium: *alumen*

Kos: Ancho

Krinner (R.) pp. 9.10.15

Laban Th 1373

Lacus: Mare Mortuum, Mare Galileae

laici Th 1025

Lamech pater Noe JW 476

lapides quadrature aptissimi Th 53-54; lapis grandis Th 770; lapis ille,
in quo dominus stetit perhibetur Th 975-976; lapis magnus (*id.*)
Th 1071-1073; lapidum congeries Th 1121; lapis pede domini calcatus
JW 285-286; lapis super quem dominus oblatus fuit JW 288-289;
lapis super quem sedit Iesus JW 574-578; lapis unde caput Salvatoris

- supportabatur S 434-435; tres lapides in quibus dicitur dominus orasse JW 875-876
- Latini JW 1313.1447; Th 280.285.459; latine JW 635, tam latine quam grece Th 232-233
- Lattakieh: Lice
- s. Laurentius S 26; JW 691
- Lazarus S 447; JW 764.791.799.804.823; Th 763.996: Maria et Martha, Sanctus Lazarus
- Leclercq (dom Jean) Th 948
- lectus beatae Mariae* S 322; Th 733
- Legenda Aurea* Th 1561-1562
- leprosi* Th 947-948: Symon
- Leros S 47
- Lia, Lya S 232; JW 505; Th 1167
- Libanus, Lybanus mons S 539 (= Hermon); JW 450.569.612-615.622.623.628.659; Th 103.1436.1448.1558.1568
- Lice (Lattakieh) S 564
- Lidda, Diospolis JW 146.149-150.701; Th 1291.1540
- Lido S 49
- ligna cara* Th 102
- Linder (A.) preface, p. 6; JW 407.III1-III2 and *Appendix liturgica*, passim
- Lithostrotos: Pilatus
- liturgy* JW 347.966-967.1353.1357-1358; Th 253.1158: Ierosolima, Heshbert (R.-J.), Linder (A.), *missae officium*, *cursus beate Marie*
- Livadhostron: Hosta
- loca supplicio deputata* JW 946-948: *medicabilia loca (balnea)*
- Longinus JW 969; Th 421
- Loth nepos Abraham JW 510-511.536; Th 1187.1199; uxor JW 537; Th 1200
- Lotharingi JW 1157
- Luza: Bethel
- Macedonia S 611.613.614.619
- Machabei, *Gesta* Th 661; Mathathias pater JW 698-699, cum filiis suis Th 1261; Iudas Machabeus Th 366, et fratres sui Th 665
- Macherunta, Masconta castellum JW 110-111; Th 1387
- machina rotalis ad deducendam aquam* Th 1418
- Magdalum JW 675.679; Th 1477.1482: Maria Magdalena
- Mageddo, Magedon campus JW 95; Th 1401-1402
- magi tres* S 443; Th 1154
- Mahumeria, Mala Humeria: Maior Mahumeria
- Maior Gallina: Genunium
- Maior Mahumeria, Mala Humeria JW 301; Th 1334
- Mambre (S 490-492); JW 515-526; Th 1169.1175-1182
- Mamilla JW 694 (lacus)
- Mamistra Th 1575
- Mandeville (Sir John) p. 22

- Manitius (M.) p. 27 and n. 27
 Mare Adriaticum S 6470.465.554
 Mare Diaboli: Mare Mortuum
 Mare Egeum S 65
 Mare Galileae, Mare Tyberiadis S 391.520.546; JW 486.646.1042; Th 1422.1427.1461; Genesareth Lacus Th 1474
 Mare Magnum, Mare Mediterraneum JW 615.620; Th 46.1213.1215-1216.1217.1415-1416.1560-1561.1564-1565
 Mare Mortuum, Mare Diaboli, Dyaboli S 548.550; JW 473.530-531; Th 1008.1019.1050.1159.1188-1190. Asphaltidis (Th), Asfaltidis (JW) Lacus JW 110.529.542-543.546.625; Th 1188.1446
 Mare Rubrum JW 559; Th 1089.1105
 Mare Tyberiadis: Mare Galileae
 Maria mater domini S 299-300.326-327.369.382.443.494; JW 15-16.50.56.58.63.157.265-266.277.706-707.1191.1217.1246.1323.1383.1400.1425, and *passim*; Th 443.804-805.843.852.1155.1259.1515, and *passim*; sepultura in Valle Iosaphat S 334-338; JW 753-754.821.868.1198ff.; Th 830-832; ecclesiae S 35-36 (Athens).233-234.363.370; Th 75 and 115.124.632 and 638-640.798-799 and 909.1335-1336.1504-1505; capellae S 246-247.249-250; Th 319.1116-1117; altaria S 370; Th 640-641.1131-1132; cenobium: Ad Sanctam Mariam Latinam. *See also* Sancta Maria Maior, Ad Sanctam Mariam Maiorem, Sancta Maria Parva, Domus Alemannorum; s. Anna, Ioachim; *balneum, capilli, cursus, lectus, scola*; Appendix liturgica 54-61
 Maria Egyptiaca S 251 (*Vita* 254)
 Maria et Martha JW 765.791.799.807.810; Th 763.998-999 (relics): Lazarus
 Maria Magdalena S 242.451; JW 675-676.766.769.785.788.789.795-796.797-800.1015 (alia ... alia 776); Th 451.1477-1478; aecclesia in honore MM JW 779-782.1416-1417: *capilli*, Magdalum, Virzlacum
 Mariae tres Th 157.459
 Marks (R.B.) p. 22, n. 14
marmor: Parium marmor
 Maroni JW 1452
 Martha: Maria et Martha
 Martin of Troppau p. 14
 Martyrium: Sepulchrum Domini(cum)
Martyrologium Usuardi JW 572-573; Th 1561-1562
 Masconta: Macherunta
 Mathathias: Machabei
 Matthew (Ps.), *Gospel* Th 1519-1525
 Matthias Flacius Illyricus p. 29
 Maximus archiepiscopus Ierosolymitanus S 178
 Mayer (H.E.) p. 13, n. 5; p. 18, n. 11; Th 1288-1289.1353
 Medan planities JW 632.633-634.635.636.640; Th 1451-1452
medicabilia balnea JW 644-645, *loca* Th 1459-1460: *dirps, quercus; ylex*: Mambre
meditullium terrae JW 1012: Compas

- Megiddo: Mageddo
 Melchisedech JW 79; Th 1489-1490
 Memphis Egipti JW 228
 Mensa (locus vocatus...) JW 665; Th 1424
mensa, in qua dominus cenavit Th 808-809; *mensa marmorea*, *supra*
 quam comedit B.M.V. S 442-443
 Mesopotamia JW 300-301.604; Th 1554
 Metelina S 42.606
 s. Michael archangelus Th 240 (festum S 620)
 Miconia (Mikonos) S 40
 s. Mildrida S 9-10 (festivitas)
 Minor Gallina: Iezrael
 Mirreorum urbs (Myra), Stamirra S 63.593
missae officium Th 1488-1489
 Moabitarum mons JW 543-544; Th 1208; rex: Balac(h)
moderni JW 27 and 1099 (tempora moderna); Th 28.1176.1219.1263.
 1264.1293.1297.1334.1381.1440.1576.1579.1599.1615
 Modin JW 698.700; Th 1261
 Moyses S 470.471.517.519; JW 71.551.552.562; Th 1097.1100.1184.1379:
 Vallis Moysi
 Moloch JW 722
 Molsheim p. 14
monachae: sanctimoniales. - monachi sex decapitati Th 1074-1075
 Monopolis S 8.88
 Mons Gaudii Th 73
 Mons Offensionis JW 719.721
 Mons Oliveti S 195.347.348.350.355.365.449.454; JW 421.426.719.816.820.
 825.855; Th 72.114.117-118.765.768.771.886.895.899.963.965; ecclesia JW
 1171-1172; Th 984-985
 Mons Regalis JW 563; Th 1102
 Mons Sion, Syon S 183.341.347.378(aecclesia Spiritus Sancti).413; JW
 96.689.893.914.919.1034-1035.1200.1275.1339.1361; Th 79.111.112.113.114.
 120.784.787.797.874.1283.1338; = Jerusalem JW 153.693; filiae Syon
 JW 899.1252; ecclesia Sanctae Mariae JW 851-854.927.1039-1040.1189;
 Th 798-799.909-910; cenaculum JW 834ff.1180ff.; Th 808: Porta
 Montis Syon
mons, montes: see under proper names
 Moria mons, collis JW 195.201; Th 71.118.719-720.1285
 Moriaccensis aecclesia JW 119
mos: JW 468 (plangentium); Th 98 (non nostro more); Th 287-288 and
 JW 1210-1211 (Hebreorum); Th 289 (ecclesie S. Sepulchri), 703 (illius
 terre), 1014-1015 (Templariorum et Hospitatorum), 1348 (Sarrace-
 norum)
 Musto (R.G.) p. 13
 Myra: Mirreorum urbs
 Naaman princeps Syriae JW 726-727
 Naaman oppidum JW 602; Th 1550: Sophar

- Naboth JW 93; Th 1399
 Nabuchodonosor Babiloniorum rex JW 214; Th 648-649
 Nabuzardan princeps cocorum/coquorum JW 214-215; Th 651
 Naim civitas JW 82.84.90; Th 1492.1493
nataioriae: piscinae
 Nathanael JW 63; Th 1535
 Navarri JW 1449
 Naxia (Naxos) S 40
 Nazaret(h) S 390.493.503.509.532.535.537; JW 39.45-54.59.62.64.66.69.
 239.475.484.486; Th 1259.1503.1529.1532.1534.1539; Nazare(n)us (= Christus) JW 47.340, flos Nazarenus JW 156: Precipitium, Saltus dei
 Neapolis: Sichem
 Nechao pharao JW 218
 Neptalim tribus JW 677; Th 1479
 Nestoriani JW 1451-1452
 Neumann (W.A.) p. 18, n. 10
 Nichodemus, Nychodemus S 403; JW 690; Th 153-154.276.426 - *Gospel*
 p. 14
 s. Nic(h)olaus, Nycolaus S 57.63; Th 340.587: Patras
 Nigel (Wireker) of Longchamp p. 23
 Nigrepontus S 31
 Nilus JW 1165
 Noe: Lamech, Sem
 Noradinus Halapiensis tyrannus Th 1412: Sanginus
 Normanni JW 1157
 Nova Civitas (Neapolis): Sichem
 Novum Castellum Th 1306
 Nubiani (: Cepthi) Th 286

 Och rex Basan Th 1106
officinae clericorum Th 533, ecclesie Beate Marie Th 830-831.860
oleum semper ardens S 36
 Omargos (Amorgos) S 41
opobalsamum JW 473
 Oppidum Palmae: Segor
 Oreb mons JW 560-561
 Oriens JW 171
 Origenes JW 573
 Ornan Iebuseus: Areuna
orti: horti
 Ortus Abrahæ S 455; Th 1004-1005.1010-1011.1055.1059
oscula(ri) Th 175 = 1145.988
 Otrente S 7
 Ozias rex Iuda, Iudeae JW 95.485; Th 1402

 Paffus (Paphos) S 70
palatium, regia Salomonis JW 723.1365-1366.1369; Th 116.119.680; Pilati
 Th 937; quod vocabatur Antonia Th 134; noviter edificatum Th 109

- Palestina JW 1332; Th 1216.1574: Cesarea, Syria
palmae S 456-457; Th 902.1307
 Palmaria: Segor
 Paneas, Panias, Belina(s), Cesarea Philippi S 543; JW 622-623.646 and
 Th 1461 (lacus); Th 1437-1443
 Paniados S 618-619
 Paris Alexander S 622
Parium marmor Th 54.172.217 (Parium et varium).362-363.405.973
partes nostrae (= Europe) JW 796; (= Germany) JW 1153-1154: Ale-
 manni
 Parthi JW 637-638; Th 1455
 Parva Antiochia S 589
 Paschasius Radbert Th 3
 Patara: Patras Beati Nicholai
 Patera S 56-57
Pater noster (church) Th 983-991
 Pathmos S 42
 Patras S 23.25
 Patras Beati Nicholai (Patara) S 593-594
patriarcha: Ierosolima
 Paula et Eustochium S 441; JW 185.1216
 b. Paulus apostolus S 26.33.35.45-46.50.56; JW 610.611; Th 1557: Saulus
 b. Pelagia, inclusa Th 981-983
peregrini JW (12-13).425.(1029 peregrini sub specie).1273-1274 (sepul-
 tura).1333.1436; Th 123 (sepultura).175.309.391.408.415.637.914.988.
 1015.1056.1069.1121-1122(: *simplices*).1145.1229.1231.1318.1331.1337.1607:
flagellari
 Persia, Persis S 316; JW 227; Th 782; Persi (= Persae) S 54: Cosdroe,
 Cyrus
 Petalion S 37-38
 s. Petrus apostolus S 74.275.342.391.510.518.524; JW 70.74.76.353.491.
 647.669.670.860.910.1028.1118.1342.1362; Th 785.790.793.921.924.1218.
 1429.1463; first bishop of Antioch JW 620-621 and Th 1565-1566;
 aecclesia S 531, capella JW 1340: *carcer*, *cathena*, Ad Vincula, Galli-
 cantus
 Pez (B.) p. 9
 Pharan desertum JW 629; Th 1448
 Phenicia, Phenicis: Fenicia
 Philippus apostolus JW 63; Th 1535; caput JW 1317 and Th 495
 Philippus tetrarcha Ituree et Traconitidis Th 1437-1438
 Philistei, Philistini Th 1216-1217.1275: Hebron
 Philipps (Sir Thomas) p. 22, n. 14
philosophi JW 193
 Pictaviensis pagus JW 116.235
 Pilatus, Pylatus JW 954.1017; Th 337.906.913; domus Th 130, domus
 vel palatium Th 937; pretorium nuncupatum Lithostrotos, *hebraice*
 Gabatha S 213; JW 893-894.904.905.907.910.923; Th 909.917
 s. Piligrinus Th 1039

- piramis, pyramis* JW 642 and Th 1457 (and note) (Iob); JW 745 and Th 82-83 (Iosaphat); JW 191 and Th 1126 (Rachel); JW 94 and Th 1404 (Iezabel)
- piratae* S 590
- piscinae, natatoriae* Th 504.517.530.534.535.750-758: Probatica Piscina, Siloe
- plana*: Spineti plana
- plumbei canales* JW 376; *plumbeum tectum* Th 246.566
- Polipolis S 22
- Porta Aurea S 310-311; JW 414-415; Th 523.535.774.936; *celebris sepultura* JW 428-429.1122-1123
- Porta David, Porta Turri David contigua S 171; JW (694).1319.1442; Th 1113-1114.1226
- Porta Ferrea JW 1362
- Porta Iosaphat, Porta Vallis Iosaphat, porta qua itur (quae ducit) ad Vallem Iosaphat(h) S 334-335; JW 1397.1414.1418-1419; Th (936-937)
- Porta Montis Syon JW 919-920
- Porta Sancti Stephani JW (687).1420.1430
- Porta Speciosa S 273-274; JW 353; Th 117.499-500
- Porta Turris David: Porta David
- portae*: Ierosolima
- Portus Sanctae Mariae S 588
- Portus Sancti Andreae S 586
- Portus Sancti Symeonis, Simeonis S 588 = portus Solim JW 619; Th 1563-1564
- Prawer (J.) JW 470-474
- Precipitium (locus vocatus...) JW 67; Th 1529
- Premonstratensians Th 1288-1289
- preputium Christi* JW 232-238
- Presbyter Iohannes, Prester John p. 14
- presepe, presepium* S 433; Th 1141.1150
- Pringle (D.) preface, p. 5
- Probatica Piscina S 327-329 (*hebraice* Bethsayda); JW 1405-1406.1411; Th 131.944
- Prosper Aquitanus S 229-230; JW 383-385
- Provinciales JW 1157-1158
- Prudentius JW 520
- Pryor (John H.) preface, p. 5 and p. 35ff.
- Ptolomaida, Ptolomais: Achon
- puteus*: Fons Iacob
- Quadragenum: Quarentena
- Quarentena, Querentina, Quadragenum (S 461-463); JW 456.459.462; Th 1025-1026.1051.1057
- quercus*: Mambre, Rogel
- Querentina: Quarentena
- Raab meretrix JW 710

- Rachel JW 188-192; Th 1124.1372
 Raclea S 621
 Raymundus: Remundus
 Rama: Sylo
 Ramatha *nunc* Rames JW 152.698.702; Th 1267
 Rames: Ramatha
 Rebecca S 231; JW 505; Th 1167
reclusi Th 83-84
regia: palatium
Regula (s. Benedicti) Th 497
regulares Th 800
 Remundus (Raymundus) dux S 563
 Rhodos: Roda
 Richard (J.) preface, p. 5
 Riley-Smith (J.) JW 1125
 Ripberger (A.): *Cogitis me*
 Robertus Monachus JW 1149
 Roda, Rodos insula S 51.595.597; Th 1391
 Rodbertus Gwiscard S 20
 Rodosto: Rothostoca
 Röhricht (R.) p. 14, n. 6 and p. 22
 Rogel quercus JW 734
 Rogers (A.) preface, p. 6 and p. 7
 Roma castrum S 536
 Roma JW 162.691; Th 823; Romani Th 710, milites Romani JW 892-893.955-956; columbia Romana Th 564; principes: Vespasianus et Titus
 Romania S 54.588.593.598.606.611
 Rorgo Fretellus: Fretellus
rosae Th 1081
 Rose (V.) p. 15
 Rothostoca (Rodosto) S 620
 Rubea Cisterna: Cisterna Rubea
 Rutheni JW 1451

 s. Saba(s) S 418.423; JW 1321-1322
 Saegete: Sidon
Saewlfus S 1
 Saint-Sauveur (Charroux) JW 235-236
 Salem JW 80; Th 1490: Melchisedech
 Sallust S 595
 Salmana JW 87; Th 1497-1498
 Salomon, Salemon S 278.284.290; JW 207.209.351.678.721.835.837.1276; Th 128.399.645.716.1252.1284.1480: *palatium, stabulum, Templum Salomonis*
 Saltus dei] critical apparatus *ad* JW 68, and p. 16
 Salvatoris aecclesia: Vallis Iosaphat
 Samaria *quae et* Sebasten *et* Augusta S 496; JW 96.104.107.107-108.

- III.II9.120-121; Th 25.48.1354.1381-1382.1383.1397.1402.1539; mulier Samaritana S 500; JW 134; Th 1358: Ad Sanctum Iohannem
- Samo(s) S 41.601
- Samson Th 1214
- Samuel propheta JW 148; Th 1286: Anna, Helchana
- Sancta, Sanctus (: Ad...):
- Sancta Anna S 324-325.334; JW 780-781.1397-1398.1403.1404; Th 130-131.938
- Sancta Barbara: Cologne
- Sancta Crux S 408.416-417
- Sancta Maria (in) Latina: Ad Sanctam Mariam Latinam
- Sancta Maria Maior (Rome) JW 163-164. - (Jerusalem): Ad Sanctam Mariam Maiorem
- Sancta Maria Mogronissi S 59-60
- Sancta Maria Parva S 266
- Sancta Trinitas (monasterium) S 255
- sanctimoniales, monachae* S 266; JW 1307.1403-1404; Th 483-484.940-941.999.1360-1361
- Sanctum Sepulchrum: Sepulchrum Domini(cum)
- Sanctum Sepulchrum!* Th 297
- Sanctus Femius S 612.613
- Sanctus Iohannes S 254-255; Th 308: *hospitale*. - (En Kerem) Th 1256: Ad Sanctum Iohannem
- Sanctus Lazarus S 449; Th 377.1084-1085
- Sanctus Petrus S 531: Gallicantus
- Sanctus Stephanus Th 950
- Sandoli (Sabino de) pp. 10.12 and notes 2 and 27
- Sanginus Noradini pater Th 1075
- Sapham (Saphet) Th 1414
- Sara S 231; JW 505; Th 1167
- Sarepta Sydoniae: Sarphan
- Sarphan, Sârphen, Sarepta Sydoniae (Sidoniorum) JW 579-580.583; Th 1596.1599
- Sarraceni S 151.165.421-422.426.480.504.553-554.557-567.572; JW 318.380.1110.1305.1438; ad meridiem versi solent orare JW 320-321; Th 372.1017.1085.1206.1231.1236.1346; litterae Sarrachenicae JW 345, sarrachenice JW 502.634.640: *incursus, mos*
- Satalium S 595
- Saul rex S 479; JW 98.102; Th 1407
- Saulus JW 607-610; Th 1557: Paulus
- Savithae S 615
- Saxer (V.) JW 775ff.
- Scendelim (Scandelion) castrum Th 1612-1613
- Schneemelcher (W.) Th 1519-1525
- Scios S 41.603
- Scitopolis, *quae et Bethsan* JW 100-101; Th 1406
- scola B.M.V.* Th 527
- Scoti JW 1449

- Sebasten: Samaria
 Seboim Th 1191 = Sephon JW 532
 Sedechia rex Iuda JW 215; Th 648
 Segor, *quae et Bala vel Zara* (Cara), *modo* Palmaria, Oppidum Palmae
 JW 535-537-537-541-542; Th 1198-1199
 Seir, Seyr: Esau
 Selmer (C.) p. 14
 Sem filius Noe JW 79-80
 Seon rex Amorreeorum Th 1105-1106
 Seor Etheus: Effron
 Sepharnaim (= Sepharvaim) Th 1551
 Sephon: Seboim
 Sephoris JW 54-55-56-62; Th 1532-1534-1536
sepulchra episcoporum Ierosolimitanorum S 450-451; ss. patrum iusti
 Symeonis et Ioseph S 357-358; regum Ierosolimorum Th 361-377. –
sepultura, cimiterium: Acheldemach, *peregrini*, Porta Aurea
 Sepulchrum Domini(cum), Sanctum Sepulchrum S 2.172(aecclesia ...
 quae 'Martyrium' vocatur).206.236.245.260-261.270.272; JW 352.1046ff.
 1082.1279-1280.1422.1431.1441: *Appendix liturgica* 1-27 and *Appendix*
inscriptionum; Th 137ff.254-505-506.758; mos Th 289; custodes Th
 150.166
 Seth JW 509
 Sichar, Sychar: Sichem
 Sichem, Sychem *sive* Sichar, Sychar, *nunc* Neapolis *id est* Nova Civitas
 S 495-496.501; JW 121.123.124.125.128.130-131.135.136.143.145.149.718;
 Th 1344-1345.1354.1367.1371.1539
 Sichem, Sychem pater Emor JW 121.122; Th 1363
 Sidon, Sydon, Saegete S 562.568; JW 583.584; Th 1594.1596
 Silo: Sylo
 Siloe, Syloe *natatoria* S 361; JW 723-725.732-734; Th 77-78.740
 Silvestris (locus vocatus ...) Th 1256-1257
simbolum S 381
 Simi: Asimi
simplices homines Th 827, *peregrini* Th 1121-1122
 Sion, Syon: Mons Sion
 Sipont S 7
 Sisara JW 86; Th 1496.1500
 s. Sixtus JW 72
 Smirna S 44.605
 Sodoma JW 532; Th 1191
solaria Th 109.695
 Solim: Portus Sancti Symeonis
 Sophar Naamatites JW 602; Th 1550-1551
 Sophim: Effraim
 Sors, Sur(s): Tyrus
 Spineti plana JW 645; Th 1459
 Spiritus Sancti aecclesia: Mons Sion
sportarum signa Th 1424

- stabulum, stabula Salomonis* JW 1367; Th 689
 Stamirra: Mirreorum urbs
stella cuprea Th 1153; *cisterna*
 s. Stephanus prothomartyr S 402-403.405; JW 689.1119; Th 821; eccle-
 sia Th 950
 Stephaton Th 422
 Stewart (A.) p. 13 and n. 23
 Stivas: Thebae
 Strovilo S 599
 Sueta: Hus
 Sur(s), Sors: Tyrus
 Sura S 39
 Suriani JW 73.1451; Th 279.280.285.323.864.1248: Syri
 Sylo, Silo mons et civitas *quae et Rama* JW 146.732; Th 741.746.
 1271.1286.1290
 Symeon iustus, senex S 300.358; JW 266-267.1383.1393; Th 600.736
 s. Symon apostolus Th 496 (brachium)
 Symon Cyreneus JW 932.938
 Symon leprosus JW 764.770.783; Th 762
 Symon phariseus JW 802.805.808
 Synai, Synay mons S 470; JW 550; Th 1096
 Syri, Siri JW 571.732.1433.1434.1451; Th 1570: Suriani
 Syria, Siria JW 568.591.592.617; Th 1543.1562.1574; Syria Palestina S
 585: Antiochus, Naaman
 Szövérfy (J.) p. 10; JW 407

 Tabaria: Tiberias
tabernaculum domini JW 147
 Tabita Th 1218
 Tabula domini S 530
tabula marmorea supra quam cenavit dominus S 402
 Tartusa S 563
 b. Tecla JW 118
 Tegernsee (O.S.B.) p. 15
 Templarii JW 1369.1381-1382; Th 480.514.685.701.708.739.1003.1014.1052.
 1060.1076.1303.1316.1327.1352-1353.1414.1416.1537: *mos, (h)orti*
 templum domini S 278.284; JW 302.315; Th 444.500.509.598.600.614.
 616.631.1284; (re)edificationes Th 643ff.
 Templum Domini S 271.274.288.310.319.324; JW 322ff.1320.1334.1365.
 1396; Th 71.112.119.308.315.500.503.507-508.523.527-528.534.537.541.547.
 717.719.787
 Templum Salomonis S 320
 Tenit (Tenedos) S 606
tere bintus: therebintus
 terra (re)promissionis JW 527; Th 1107.1110.1184.1273
 Thabor mons S 388.389.509-510.(515).520; JW 69.77.78.81.89; *Appendix*
liturgica 35; Th 1484.1492.1502
 Thebae, *vulgariter* Stivas S 30

- Thecua JW 175.703
 Thema(n) JW 600.601; Th 1549: Eliphaz
Theodericus Th 2
 Theodericus of Fleury (Dietrich von Amorbach) p. 30, n. 27
 Theodosius imperator JW 521; Th 823.1178.1391; Theodosius Minor Th 1151-1152
 t(h)erebintus: Mambre, Sichem
 Thiel (M.) preface, p. 6, and *passim*
 Thomas apostolus S 399; JW 1034-1038; Th 817. - *Gospel* Th 1519-1525
 Tiberias, Tyberias, Tabaria, Chyneret, Cinereth S 390.393.523.525.536.539; JW 45.679.681.683-684.794; Th 1421.1432.1470.1472.1482.1483
 Tiberius, Tyberius Cesar JW 680; Th 1439-1440
 Tinos S 39
 Tischendorf (K. von) JW 1400-1401; Th 1519-1525
 Titus discipulus s. Pauli S 49-50
 Titus, Tytus: Vespasianus
 Tobler (T.) preface, p. 6, pp. 10.11.12.15.16.22.27.29 and n. 10
 Tombeur (P.) p. 31, n. 30
 Traconitis: Philippus tetrarcha
 Tranum S 7
 Tripolis, Tursolt S 564; Th 595.1576
 Trithemius (J.) p. 29 and n. 27
 Troia S 607
tubae Th 288
 Turci S 61.599; Th 373.1415: *incursus*
turris campanaria Th 378-379
 Turris David S 170 (arx).194.422-423; JW 494.896.904.1320-1321; Th 106.946.1337: Porta David
 Turris Strat(h)onis JW 491-492; Th 1299: Cesarea
 Tursolt: Tripolis
 Tyrus, Sur(s), Sors S 561-562.568; JW 570-579; Th 1568.1599-1600ff.: Hiram

 Ungari JW 1448
Urbs beata Iherusalem JW 407
Usuardus: Martyrologium Usuardi

 Vallis Campestris, Grandis JW 627; Th 1446-1447
 Vallis Ennon Th 1114
 Vallis Iosaphat(h) S 334-335.349; JW 256.720.723.736-744.867.919.1206.1230; Th 73.118.121.616.773-774.829-830.842.876. - cenobium JW 750.753 (abbas Th 84-85); aeclesia Salvatoris JW 874.1200: Maria, Iosaphat rex, Porta Iosaphat
 Vallis Lacrimarum JW 506-507
 Vallis Moysi JW 553; Th 1094
 Van der Straeten (J.), Bollandiste p. 10
 Varum (Bari) S 6.9

- Venantius Fortunatus Th 259
 Venetici JW 577
Versus angelici p. 14
 Vespasianus et Titus, Tytus S 184; Th 33.479.673.1326
vestigia domini S 306
 Vézelay: Virzlacum
via maritima Th 1540-1541, *superior* Th 1538-1540
 Vin (J.P.A. van der) S 35-37
 Virgil S 116; JW 1288; Th 621.1205
 Virzlacum (Vézelay) p. 32, n. 32; JW 796

 Wadi Qelt Th 1006(-1008)
 Waldstein-Wartenberg (B.) JW 1286
 Walther (H.) p. 14 and n. 8
 Wendehorst (A.) p. 13
 Wigger JW 1132.1149
 Wilkinson (J.) p. 13 and n. 10; S 120-121
 William of Boldensele p. 22
 William of Tyre pp. 21.26 and notes 9 and 13; JW 573-574.636-640.957-958.1380-1381; Th 39-40
 Wirzburgensis aecclesia JW 1

xenodochium: hospitale
 Xindacopo S 66

ycon(i)ae JW 585-590 = Th 1578-1593; Th 257-260
 Ydumea JW 567-569.596.601.603.606.630; Th 48.1106.1449.1542.1546.1555.1568. - Ydumei, Idumei JW 86; Th 1450.1543.1552: Iabin
ylex, illex: Mambre
 Yram: Hiram
 Ysaya Th 399

 Zabulon tribus JW 676; Th 1479
 Zacharias filius Barachiae S 296; JW 316-317; Th 531-532
 Zacharias sacerdos (S 295), pater Iohannis Baptistae JW 308.310.311.706; Th 1257
 Zacheus JW 712
 Zara: Segor
 Zaraim: Iezrael
 Zeb et Zebee JW 87; Th 1497
 Zorobabel Th 655